United Nations S/PV.6603

# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

**6603**rd meeting

Friday, 26 August 2011, 10 a.m.

New York

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| *President*: | Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri | (India) |
| *Members*: | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mr. Barbalić |
| | Brazil | Mrs. Dunlop |
| | China | Mr. Li Baodong |
| | Colombia | Mr. Osorio |
| | France | Mr. Briens |
| | Gabon | Mr. Messone |
| | Germany | Mr. Berger |
| | Lebanon | Mr. Salam |
| | Nigeria | Mr. Onowu |
| | Portugal | Mr. Cabral |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Zhukov |
| | South Africa | Mr. Sangqu |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Mr. Parham |
| | United States of America | Mr. DeLaurentis |

## Agenda

United Nations peacekeeping operations

Peacekeeping: taking stock and preparing for the future

Letter dated 5 August 2011 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2011/496)

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.*

**Bombing of the United Nations compound in Abuja, Nigeria**

**The President**: I request the members of the Security Council to observe a minute of silence in commemoration of the tragic bombing of the United Nations compound in Abuja, Nigeria.

*The members of the Security Council observed a minute of silence.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**United Nations peacekeeping operations**

**Peacekeeping: taking stock and preparing for the future**

**Letter dated 5 August 2011 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2011/496)**

**The President**: Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Croatia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Guatemala, Hungary, Indonesia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Senegal, Serbia, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukraine, Uruguay and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Ioannis Vrailas, Deputy Head of Delegation and Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Delegation of the European Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite His Excellency Mr. Téte António, Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2011/496, which contains a letter dated 5 August 2011 from the Permanent Representative of India addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a concept paper on the item under consideration.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, and invite him to take the floor.

**The Secretary-General**: I thank the Government of India and Ambassador Puri for their leadership and initiative in scheduling this debate on peacekeeping.

But let me begin with this morning's most immediate developments. As members of the Council know, United Nations House in the Nigerian capital, Abuja, was struck by a car bomb around 11 a.m. local time this morning. These buildings house 26 humanitarian and development agencies of the United Nations family. I met with our staff in Abuja during a visit just two months ago.

In a statement to the media, I described this terrible act as an attack on those who devote their lives to helping others. We condemn it utterly. We do not yet have precise casualty figures, but they are likely to be considerable. Many people are dead; many more are wounded. Nigerian and international search and rescue teams have mobilized and are moving the injured to hospitals and providing emergency aid.

I have asked the Deputy Secretary-General, Ms. Asha-Rose Migiro, to go Nigeria immediately, and I am mobilizing the United Nations system to respond to this emergency. The Deputy Secretary-General will be accompanied by the United Nations security chief, Under-Secretary-General Gregory Starr, and will meet with Nigerian authorities upon arrival in Abuja.

On this very sad occasion, I extend my deepest sympathies to the victims and their families. The United Nations will undertake every possible effort to assist them during this difficult time. Let me say clearly: These acts of terrorism are unacceptable. They will not deter us from our vital work for the people of Nigeria and the world. This outrageous and shocking attack is evidence that United Nations premises are increasingly being viewed as soft targets by extremist elements around the world.

Peacekeeping is one of the most visible, difficult and critical roles played by the United Nations. It is also a role that only the United Nations can play in a truly global sense. Peacekeeping is an essential tool for overcoming threats to international peace and security and supporting complex transitions from conflict to stability. It requires a variety of approaches to respond to various local needs and a wide range of political

realities. To be successful, peacekeeping operations must have a clear and achievable mandate, unified political support from the Security Council, and adequate, predictable human, material and financial resources. Where this has occurred, we have seen considerable success, such as in Liberia and Timor-Leste, or with the referendum in the Sudan. Where we have struggled, we have also learned.

Since 2001, the number of uniformed personnel has doubled, reaching a high point of more than 101,000 early last year. Although the rate of growth slowed in 2010, the complexity of missions remains high, requiring ever more flexible and adaptable uniformed and civilian personnel. Indeed, we may be entering a new phase, with diverse and multifaceted situations where peacekeeping may play a role. Peacekeeping will need to evolve to meet specific demands in a variety of environments and to flexibly and nimbly bring together multiple capabilities in a coherent and effective manner.

Notwithstanding the responsibility of host Governments, peacekeepers are increasingly tasked to take on the protection of civilians — placing higher demands on their work, greater scrutiny on their performance, and a growing need for sufficient resources to properly carry out such mandates. With these shifts in mind, the New Horizon initiative of 2009 set out an agenda for strengthening peacekeeping. This has served to build a common vision and stronger partnership linking the resources of the Secretariat, the Security Council, troop- and police-contributing countries and the wider membership of the Organization. Unfortunately, some aspects of this partnership are under increasing pressure. The current financial climate, differing perspectives on mandated tasks, and, in some instances, the loss of host Government consent have all created tensions in our relationships.

Achieving a collective response is also complicated when key stakeholders — such as those who mandate missions, those who contribute uniformed personnel and those who are major funders — are separate groups. If these groups remain distinct even as mandates become more demanding, tensions and divisions are inevitable, with potentially negative impacts on our operations. We must continue to improve the peacekeeping partnership. We have a common responsibility to make sure that our peacekeepers are up to the task, which means ensuring both adequate support and equipment.

One way forward is outlined in the draft presidential statement to be adopted today, in which the Council requests that the Secretariat ensure that troop and police contributors are engaged early, with appropriate information, to enable effective consultations between the Council and the Secretariat. I agree with this approach and look forward to working with the Council to implement it.

We also recognize the restrictive context in which we operate, such as that presented by the global financial situation. The impact on Member States is well understood. The Secretariat will continue to seek ways to yield efficiencies. The global field support strategy is a central part of this picture. The strategy is designed to optimize efficiencies in the management of resources entrusted to the Organization by Member States through a global approach. This is a comprehensive response to key logistical and administrative challenges, and is aimed at enabling timely mission start-up and drawdown, improved provision of support, and increased transparency and accountability for resources.

The enormous role of civilian peacekeepers is also critical. Close to 20,000 civilians within peacekeeping operations are currently implementing activities in support of peace processes, encompassing security sector reform, rule of law and local governance development, human rights monitoring, disarmament, demining and the provision of complex mission support. The implementation of the findings of the recent civilian capacity review will increase our capabilities in this regard, and we look forward to the Council's support for this effort. Early peacebuilding tasks have also become an integral part of many operations and should be implemented in an integrated manner.

Partnership is the cornerstone of peacekeeping. Let us build on the relationships that now exist, and overcome potential frictions that could hinder our work. Through increased engagement, extensive dialogue and a shared understanding of our common goals, we can uphold the aims of the Charter and live up to the expectations of the people who look to us in their time of need.

In closing, I would like to acknowledge the sacrifice of the thousands of colleagues and friends

who have given their lives in the line of duty, and to pay tribute to all those working in peacekeeping today for their commitment to this noble cause.

**The President**: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I now give the floor to the members of the Council.

**Mr. Onowu** (Nigeria): I thank you, Sir, for the initiative of convening this open debate and the excellent concept paper (S/2011/496, annex) that provides the basis of our discussions today. I also thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive briefing.

Peacekeeping, a rather recent concept that is not reflected in the Charter, has evolved as the United Nations flagship endeavour. As a nation from the continent with the highest concentration of current United Nations peacekeeping operations, Nigeria places a special premium on this subject. Informed by our national experiences, my contribution this morning will focus on the outlook for United Nations peacekeeping operations from three perspectives.

The first is the issue of mismatch between resources and mandates. Meeting the demands of modern peacekeeping operations has stretched the United Nations capacity to its limits and put a strain on the effectiveness of peacekeeping. In this context, it is not surprising that several peacekeeping missions cannot deliver the results expected of them. There is a need to strike a balance between the expectations of the Council and the resources given to enable peacekeeping missions to implement their mandates.

Our mandates must not only be clear but also adequately resourced, in terms of both personnel and of international outlay. Hence, there is a need for accurate assessment of mission requirements, the optimal use of available resources across our missions, and the firm commitment of Member States to United Nations peacekeeping.

The second issue relates to partnerships and capacity-building. The multidimensional nature of the new generation of peacekeeping operations requires improved collaboration and coordination among peacekeeping actors, including regional organizations. It is vitally important to better align the objectives and performance criteria of the various peacekeeping missions. In keeping with the spirit and letter of resolution 1353 (2001), partnership also implies seeking the views and benefiting from the experiences of the troop- and police-contributing countries in the deliberations on and design of peacekeeping missions. In this regard, I wish to reiterate the strategic role of the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations. We strongly believe that the platform of the Working Group can be better harnessed in synchronizing the efforts of the troop-contributing countries and the Security Council in the formal atmosphere it provides.

As regards capacity-building, we note the considerable progress that has been made in several missions — such as the United Nations Mission in Liberia and the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste, among others — in strengthening the capacity of host countries in various areas, including police, judicial and corrections capacities. However, the real test of the success of these various missions' support to the host countries is the degree to which the host authorities are able to sustain efforts initiated by the peacekeeping operations after their departure.

Following the independence of South Sudan on 9 July, UNMIS was brought to a successful close and the Council shepherded the establishment of two new peacekeeping missions. Drawing on the lessons for missions that have had to contend with national conflicts with subregional dimensions, such as MONUSCO, we believe that the authorities of the new missions — the United Nations Mission in South Sudan and the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei — should work more closely together with host nations in deterring and eliminating threats posed by armed groups and focus efforts on disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement and reintegration. Such collaboration would make significant contributions to improving daily lives of the residents of Abyei and South Sudan.

Thirdly, I wish to seize this opportunity to remind ourselves that peacekeeping has become a valuable instrument for maintaining international peace and security. As with all valuable instruments, the integrity of peacekeeping operations must be protected and preserved.

We must ensure that the principles relating to the use of force do not by themselves jeopardize a mission's objective. Indeed, when force is deployed, the operational mandate should adapt to the local context and the requirements of the field. It is equally important to emphasize respect for the principle of

national sovereignty. A peacekeeping operation should be considered only in situations in which parties previously at war have agreed to sheathe their swords and to involve the United Nations in enforcing a peace accord. The United Nations must remain one hundred per cent neutral in conflicts.

Guided by these principles and practices, Nigeria remains fully committed to the principle of collective security, as enshrined in the Charter. It will remain a reliable contributor of troops to the United Nations operations.

In concluding, we would like to thank Council members, the Secretary-General and the international community for their words of support following the bombing incident that occurred in Abuja today.

**Mr. Li Baodong** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): On 26 August the United Nations compound in Abuja suffered a serious attack, with colossal human casualties. China strongly condemns this terrorist act and expresses its condolences and sympathies to the families of the deceased and to the wounded and their families, and to the United Nations and the Government of Nigeria. China will continue to work with the international community in combating all forms of terrorism.

I highly appreciate India's initiative in convening today's open debate. I also welcome the statement by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon.

Since the United Nations peacekeeping operations were launched more than 60 years ago, they have become one of the important means for the maintenance of international peace and security by the United Nations. Lately United Nations peacekeeping operations have been growing in scale, with ever-wider mandates and increasing challenges. I want to focus on the following.

First, it is imperative to continue to adhere to Dag Hammarskjöld's three principles governing peacekeeping. They constitute the premise and the foundation for the smooth conduct of United Nations peacekeeping operations, and they must be adhered to. On that basis, China approves and supports the adoption of a prudent and responsible attitude in light of developments and the necessary development and improvement of the peacekeeping theories and practices.

Secondly, greater attention should be given to integrated coordination between peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Peacekeeping is an important component of the peacemaking exercise, and greater attention should be given and greater efforts be made to address the issues at the root of conflicts, including issues relating to economic and social development. In peacekeeping it is imperative to formulate and gradually improve transition and exit strategies and to improve dovetailing with peacebuilding.

The third matter is effective implementation of the mandate for the protection of civilians. In carrying out this mandate in peacekeeping operations, there should be stricter observance of Security Council resolutions and the principle of neutrality by avoiding siding with one particular party or becoming a party to the conflict. Much less should we cause more civilian casualties while implementing this mandate. We should also respect the sovereignty of the countries concerned and do more to improve the political process and national reconciliation and give full play to the political advantage of the United Nations.

Fourthly, we should improve capacity-building for United Nations peacekeeping operations. We hope that countries able to do so will increase their input and provide the necessary resources and technical guarantees for peacekeeping operations. We support greater attention to strategic design in peacekeeping operations, greater communications and coordination with the countries concerned, improvement of logistic mechanisms and optimizing resource allocation, and improvement of the effectiveness and efficiency of peacekeeping operations, including their deployment, planning and management.

Fifthly, there should be better coordination between the Security Council on the one hand, and the troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and the Secretariat on the other. At all stages of the establishment and implementation of peacekeeping operations, the Council should pay attention to maintaining regular consultations with the TCCs. We support closer partnerships between the Council on the one hand and the troop contributors and the Secretariat on the other. We hope the Secretariat will continue to provide relevant information to the TCCs in a timely and accurate manner. We also support the United Nations in improving the partnerships with the countries concerned and with regional organizations in particular in supporting the peacekeeping efforts of the African

Union and in supporting the latter and improving its capacity.

**Mr. Cabral** (Portugal): Before I begin, I would like to briefly express my country's indignation at and unequivocal condemnation of the senseless and abhorrent act of violence that occurred this morning in Abuja against innocent civilians and against United Nations officers and property. I wish to present our heartfelt condolences to and solidarity with the victims' relatives, to the Government of Nigeria and, through the Secretary-General, to the whole United Nations family.

Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this timely debate. It is most suitable that we address this issue under the chairmanship of India, one of the countries that has most contributed to United Nations peacekeeping — a fact that deserves our recognition. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his important intervention and for his continuous commitment to peacekeeping and the high priority he has assigned to it.

Peacekeeping is the flagship activity of the United Nations, its most visible face. As we speak, one hundred thousand women and men are serving the United Nations as military and police personnel in 17 missions, from Timor-Leste to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, from Southern Sudan to Haiti. They are implementing the resolutions we approve in this room, turning our words into actions and our objectives into realities. Several of these women and men have given their lives for the United Nations. Therefore, they deserve our utmost respect and humble tribute.

Portugal has continuously assumed its part in the common effort of peacekeeping. Over 20,000 military and 3,000 police Portuguese women and men have served in peace operations. We are currently participating in the United Nations peacekeeping missions in Timor-Leste and in Lebanon, as well as in several European Union and NATO operations.

When discussing peacekeeping, we should bear in mind three of its cornerstone principles.

The first is consent of the parties — essential to assure the sustainability of a mission. It implies, on the one hand, a shared strategic understanding of the objectives, as well as a continuous dialogue and constructive cooperation between the national authorities and the mission. On the other hand, this consent encompasses the responsibility of the national authorities to collaborate with the United Nations mission so that the latter has the proper conditions to fulfil its mandate.

The second principle is impartiality. As Sergio Vieira de Mello said, "In the UN, we cannot surrender our impartiality. It is perhaps our greatest asset."

Third is the non-use of force except in self-defence and in defence of the mandate. In that regard, we see with satisfaction that the defence of mandates is becoming increasingly effective, or robust. Regardless of the preferred term, what is important is the end result.

Passing from principles to practice, and bearing in mind that this Council, as the executive board for international peace and stability, shoulders a responsibility that is legitimately bestowed upon us by the whole membership of the United Nations, I would like to briefly address seven points that we deem essential to the success of United Nations peacekeeping.

First, we must continue our efforts to provide peacekeeping operations with clear, credible and achievable mandates. Subsequently, those mandates must be implemented in a precise, full and effective way.

Second, we must provide peacekeeping operations with the means required to achieve the objectives defined by the Council. The capacities on the ground must match the mandated tasks; otherwise, the credibility of the United Nations will be undermined. In that regard, we call upon those members that possess more resources to contribute accordingly, be it in terms of force generation or equipment, such as helicopters.

Third, the combination of widespread and growing peacekeeping objectives, on the one hand, and, on the other, the limited resources available imposes the need for efficient and effective management and use of those resources. We welcome the Secretariat's efforts in that regard and encourage it to continue improving its management performance.

Fourth, the Security Council must also continue to promote interaction with the relevant peacekeeping stakeholders. In that regard, we underline the unique role of troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-

contributing countries (PCCs), who match our words with deeds through their boots on the ground. Therefore, we are committed to further enhancing the triangular cooperation among TCCs and PCCs, the Security Council and the Secretariat in the decision-making process and throughout the implementation of the mandates.

Fifth, bearing in mind the various United Nations presences in areas such as the Great Lakes, or the Sudan and South Sudan, we highlight the value of inter-mission cooperation with a view to maximizing potential synergies and the advantages that arise from a strategic regional perspective. Moreover, the missions must enhance their capacity to coordinate the activities of the different actors on the ground, namely, regional and subregional organizations, development agencies and non-governmental organizations.

Sixth, the role of international organizations in peace and security, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, is increasingly important. In that regard, we highlight the efforts being made by the African Union, NATO and the European Union, as well as those of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, which is increasingly active in the promotion of democracy, human rights, political stability and social and economic development, namely, in Guinea-Bissau and Timor-Leste.

Seventh, peacekeepers are ever more early peacebuilders. Peacekeeping and peacebuilding are to be implemented within a comprehensive approach, no longer as sequential activities but rather as integrated efforts, with obvious synergies. Peacebuilding efforts — such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, security sector reform and the relaunching of the economy — should be considered from the genesis of a peacekeeping operation and carried out as soon as the situation on the ground permits and throughout the cycle of a mission. Moreover, a mission should also pave the way for a smooth transition to long-term development assistance with a view to a successful exit strategy for international actors and self-sustained peace and stability.

The protection of civilians is the paradigmatic example of the shared responsibility that binds all Member States of the United Nations, in particular those serving on this Council. Peacekeeping operations have a key role to play in protecting civilians in danger when Governments are unable or unwilling to fulfil their responsibility. It is incumbent upon the Council to assure that they will continue to do so. Basic human rights and, ultimately, the lives of populations at risk depend upon it.

In our time, failing to protect civilians is unacceptable and would deeply affect the credibility of the United Nations. Therefore, we must continue striving to fully implement resolution 1894 (2009). Moreover, we welcome the contribution of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) to the definition of a coherent operational approach to the protection of civilians in United Nations operations.

Since the adoption of resolution 1325 (2000) on women and peace and security, missions have been mandated, with significant success, to boost women's participation in electoral and post-conflict processes, to prevent sexual violence, and to increase the presence of female peacekeeping personnel and peacekeepers trained to address gender issues. DPKO has made enormous progress in mainstreaming gender in peacekeeping, but we need to strive harder in some of those areas.

As Graça Machel stated in her report on the impact of armed conflict on children, "The protection of children must be central to the humanitarian, peacemaking and peacekeeping policies of the United Nations"(A/51/306, para. 281). We commend the fact that currently seven peacekeeping missions have advisers working on the needs of children.

Peacekeeping is an instrumental element in the promotion of peace, aimed at creating security environments conducive to comprehensive political processes through which sustainable solutions to conflicts can be achieved. In our quest for sustainable peace, the Council must also increase its focus on preventive diplomacy and, thus, pay close attention to new challenges to human security.

**Mr. Osorio** (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): Colombia shares the grief affecting the international community and the United Nations family at the tragic attack that occurred in Nigeria this morning. In condemning that attack and all terrorist actions, we convey our heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims.

I wish to thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his presence and for his presentation on the matter

before us. I congratulate you, Mr. President, on the initiative in organizing a debate on peacekeeping operations, based on a document (S/2011/496, annex) of great interest and importance.

We concur with the view stated in that document that although the notion of peacekeeping does not appear explicitly in the Charter of the United Nations, it has become one of the main tools of the Organization. Furthermore, we agree that despite the shortcomings that still occur, peacekeeping operations represent perhaps the most tangible manifestation of the collective and joint efforts of the Member States to maintain international peace and security.

Colombia closely follows the discussions on restructuring and enhancing the functioning of peacekeeping operations. Convinced of the necessity of promoting peaceful coexistence, we always constructively participate in tasks that the Organization develops in that area, particularly in peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations such as the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, the Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai and the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Sierra Leone.

For Colombia, the fundamental principles of peacekeeping — such as consent of the parties, impartiality, and the use of force only in the case of self-defence or defence of the mandate — must be observed. We believe it appropriate to reiterate the validity of such principles and to highlight the fact that they must be taken into account when analysing the options for responding to the challenges imposed by reality.

We are encouraged by initiatives that seek to improve the approaches between the Security Council — the organ that plans and adopts mandates for peacekeeping operations — and those that must implement them, particularly troop-contributing countries. We agree with the view that in establishing the mandates of peacekeeping operations the political context must be addressed and there must be clear and realistic objectives that are in keeping with the available resources. In that regard, the contributions of the broad membership represented in the General Assembly, especially the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Fifth Committee, are fundamental to seeking greater efficiency and transparency in the tasks of peacekeeping operations.

I believe it is important to highlight three key elements for the effective and efficient functioning of peacekeeping operations. The first is collaboration on purposes, focusing on the political and planning aspects of peacekeeping operations. Second is collaboration in action, oriented to operational aspects in the field. A third key issue is collaboration for the future, focused on the development of sustainable capacities to meet the challenges ahead.

One essential element in creating genuine collaboration is engaging in timely dialogue before the approval and renewal of mandates. In this context, I note the established practice of the Security Council of convening meetings with troop-contributing countries prior to the renewal of the mandate of a mission. We encourage the Council to resort to that procedure on a regular basis.

We should strike a balance between the significance and scope of United Nations peacekeeping missions and review and, when necessary, rethink the nature and purpose of those missions. We should also be bolder in the deployment of troops and the civilian component, which is particularly relevant because the dynamics of conflicts have changed substantially, due to factors such as organized crime, mass displacement and human rights violations, among others. It is well known that peacekeeping missions cannot merely deploy military and police elements, but must also have a strategic plan that takes into account the host countries' national capacities and that includes social, political and self-sustaining development programmes based on the principles of respect, the protection of civilians — who are the most vulnerable — and the sovereignty and self-determination of peoples, as enshrined in the Charter.

Finally, I note the ongoing willingness and openness to dialogue that my delegation has found in the officials of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations during the coordination of my country's various contributions in Haiti, both bilaterally and through the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti. Colombia reconfirms its readiness to take part in the evolving peacekeeping framework; to continue to contribute to peacekeeping operations to the extent that our domestic conditions allow; and to participate actively in discussions on restructuring and strengthening the United Nations capacity in this field.

**Mr. Messone** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): Gabon echoes the condemnations of the attack in Abuja, Nigeria. We extend our condolences to the families of the victims and to the United Nations family as a whole. We support the Secretary-General in this matter and express our solidarity with Nigeria.

I concur, Mr. President, with previous speakers in welcoming both your initiative in organizing this debate and the fact that it comes from your country, India, which is currently one of the largest troop contributors to United Nations peacekeeping operations. That stands as yet further proof of your country's commitment to the maintenance of international peace and security. I also welcome the presence of the Secretary-General here today, and thank him for important contribution to our deliberations.

Peacekeeping operations lie at the heart of the United Nations actions in peacemaking and post-conflict reconstruction. The emergence of other challenges to peace, such as violence against civilians, has made peacekeeping operations increasingly important. New demands require missions to be allocated resources commensurate with their challenges and expectations.

I shall address the question of peacekeeping operation mandates and relationships among the various stakeholders in their success, especially the Security Council and the troop-contributing countries. In recent years, the United Nations has considerably improved the planning and conduct of missions. That evolution is largely due to greater United Nations awareness of the need to define mandates that are clear, credible and achievable and that will lead to successful missions.

My delegation welcomes the increasingly multidisciplinary approaches to mission mandates, as emphasized by the Secretary-General in his 2008 report. Those include the protection of civilians, strengthening the rule of law, mechanisms to prevent the resurgence of conflicts, support for electoral processes, and peacebuilding and reconstruction programmes, such as in the cases of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire and the United Nations Mission in South Sudan, to mention only a few.

All of those many dimensions were a response to the need for the Council to provide missions with mandates that are based on clear goals and measurable results, and that are provided with sufficient resources to fulfil all their tasks. Still, certain shortfalls and gaps remain that the Council must address. Missions such as MONUSCO, the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) are still lacking in logistical and human resources, whether it be aerial, financial or material resources. That point was made clear at the Council's meeting last month with Force Commanders on the ground (see S/PV.6592). My delegation encourages the international community to allocate to missions material and financial resources that are consistent with realities and actions on the ground.

As others have noted, we continue to believe that a good mandate must take into account the causes of conflict, and that its implementation should be founded on rigorous planning of the different phases and sequences of the process, and on the identification of criteria for ending a mission at the right time. That would keep the United Nations from slipping into an occupying role and from wasting resources that would be better spent elsewhere.

Regarding relations among the various actors in peacekeeping operations, my delegation welcomes the fact that the Council has enhanced its dialogue with its partners in peacekeeping operations over the years. We welcome, for example, the Council's regular consultations with the troop-contributing countries, including non-members. The same is true of the ongoing consultations of the President of the Council with the President of the General Assembly and States that are not members of the Council on matters that affect international peace and security.

To increase the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations, it is important to continue and strengthen consultations between the Council and the troop-contributing countries. Such regular exchanges allow the Council to better understand the situation on the ground and to make better decisions. In that vein, we welcomed the Council meeting on 27 July with the Force Commanders. The briefings we heard that day clearly reflected the daily reality of peacekeeping operations as a whole and the difficulties they encounter on the ground. In this context, we also support the recommendation contained in the draft presidential statement that we are to adopt today,

whereby the Council requests the Secretariat to provide troop- and police-contributing countries all necessary information and documentation by the 15th of each month.

Because the maintenance of international peace and security is at the heart of the political, strategic and ideological system of the United Nations, it is important to continue to work with regional and subregional organizations, especially regarding the root causes of conflicts and strategies to settle conflicts. Gabon would like once again to urge the United Nations to continue to support the African Union, especially by building its capacity and supporting its peacekeeping missions on the ground. In the case of the mission deployed in Somalia, the current weakening of Al-Shabaab should encourage us to strengthen the capacities of AMISOM in order to gain ground and significantly reduce the threat of that armed group.

While welcoming the significant progress achieved in the area of peacekeeping, Gabon feels that an additional effort should be made with regard to conflict prevention. We have stated this and reiterate it today. A culture of prevention would save enormous resources that could then be channelled towards economic and social development. Thus prevention must become our priority in the maintenance of peace and security.

Lastly, Mr. President, I would like to express my delegation's support for the draft presidential statement prepared by your delegation.

**Mr. Parham** (United Kingdom): I first join colleagues in expressing horror and disgust at the attack on the United Nations in Abuja today. I convey the British Government's condolences to the Secretary-General and to the Nigerian delegation and through them to all of the victims and to the whole United Nations family and the Nigerian Government and people. My Foreign Secretary, William Hague, has issued a statement expressing his utter condemnation of this brutal act. As he said in that statement, around the world the United Nations works for peace, security and international cooperation, and an attack on the United Nations is an attack on these principles. The United Kingdom stands ready to provide any assistance we can to the United Nations and to the Nigerian authorities to bring those responsible to justice.

I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for this opportunity to take stock of recent progress in United Nations peacekeeping and to review the variety of challenges we currently face. The United Kingdom believes that the presidential statement to be adopted today will add important new ways to strengthen the relationship between troop- and police-contributing countries, the Secretariat and the Security Council in our consideration of peacekeeping mandates.

United Nations peacekeeping is a complex and unique global partnership. United Nations peacekeepers help fragile nations emerge from conflict to find new stability. They are a scarce asset, and we have a responsibility to ensure that they are deployed to maximum effect in the places where they are needed most.

I welcome the opportunity today to hear views from across the partnership about how we may strengthen our collective effort. I will restrict my own statement to three short comments about how the Security Council may improve its role supporting peacekeeping. I feel that they may not be new, but that they are worth reiterating.

First of all, the Council must understand the operational challenges standing in the way of success for our peacekeeping operations. That means greater participation from those on the ground — from troop- and police-contributing countries — when we examine peacekeeping missions and their mandates. And it means that we must understand not only where gaps in resourcing lie, but how these specific gaps affect the ability of a peacekeeping operation to fulfil its mandate.

Secondly, we must be fully aware of progress on the ground from across the peacebuilding community in order to mandate a complementary role for peacekeepers. We know that today's conflicts require a complex range of responses from peacekeepers. They are often called upon to help protect civilian populations, monitor and protect human rights, work to build fledgling police forces and judiciaries in support of national authorities, and support electoral processes.

The Council must understand how to mandate peacekeepers to play an appropriate role as part of a longer-term effort to build sustainable peace. That requires coordination with a wide range of partners with specialist skills from within the United Nations funds and programmes, international financial

institutions and regional and subregional organizations. In such a complex environment, in order to write clear, achievable and realistic mandates — a well-worn refrain — this Council must be apprised of progress on the ground by all of these actors.

My third point is that we must ensure this Council has access to appropriate military expertise. The United Kingdom supports the emerging tradition to invite heads of military components to address the Council. And as the presidential statement suggests, we look forward to a similar consultation with the heads of police components in the future.

The Military Staff Committee has demonstrated, through its discussion in November last year of the draft concept of operations of the African Union Mission in Somalia, and of other issues since, that it has an important role to play. But we must not get caught up in process. All Council members can contribute military advice to the Military Staff Committee without recourse to Charter redrafting by making the most of the informal mechanism. We do not need further discussion about process; we should just do it.

In addition to today's debate, a number of other initiatives are already in place to take this work forward. We welcome the ongoing efforts of the Security Council's Working Group of the Whole on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, chaired by Nigeria, and underline the need for this Group and other key actors — including the Fifth Committee and the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations — to complement one other's work on that shared agenda.

In the past eight months we have seen once again the critical role that United Nations peacekeeping operations play in the maintenance of international peace and security. United Nations peacekeepers serve with dedication and courage to create a safer and more stable environment in conflict and post-conflict zones around the world. We owe them our gratitude.

**Mr. Zhukov** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We would like to join in condemning the criminal terrorist actions carried out today in Abuja, which we condemn unconditionally and steadfastly. We express sincere condolences to the Nigerian delegation and through it to the Government of Nigeria to the families of the bereaved, and to all staff of the United Nations Secretariat regarding this crime.

We thank the Indian delegation for convening today's important and timely meeting on peacekeeping operations. The Russian Federation attaches great significance to United Nations peacekeeping and considers it an important instrument in ensuring international peace and security — hence our willingness and desire to actively help in those efforts. Russian peacekeepers participate in peacekeeping operations in the Middle East, in various African regions and in Haiti.

United Nations peacekeeping is needed as never before. Recently the Council took a decision on deploying a new peacekeeping operation in the region of Abyei in the Sudan. There has been an important reorganization in the presence of the blue helmets in the young Republic of South Sudan.

Two thirds of the total number of peacekeepers are uniformed and play a leading role in meeting such complex challenges as supporting efforts of national governments to stabilize a situation and strengthen peace, ensuring the protection of civilians, and monitoring ceasefire compliance.

United Nations peacekeeping efforts continue to evolve both conceptually and operationally. That will help in expeditiously handling emerging problems and effectively reacting to new political realities. Given the increased number of complex peacekeeping operations, in the past few years the Organization has experienced an ever-growing demand on its resources and consequently encountered an unprecedented number of challenges. It is clear that resolving these issues requires the interest and involvement of Member States.

The recent situations encountered by the blue helmets have again confirmed the nature of fundamental peacekeeping principles. Peacekeepers must strictly follow their mandates and remain neutral and must not be drawn into intra-political conflicts or provide support to any of the parties in the conflict, as that could jeopardize the reputation of the world organization.

The problem of ensuring the required level of military expertise has not yet been resolved in measures taken within United Nations peacekeeping operations. Once again we reiterate our proposal to step up the work of the Military Staff Committee.

The task of improving United Nations peacekeeping requires more effective use of the resources of regional organizations. Of course, the mandates of peacekeeping operations must be clear, implementable and adequate for the situation. The lack of financial and material resources dictates the need for optimal use of existing capabilities. In current peacekeeping mandates, it is important to clearly delineate the functions of peacekeeping and support for post-conflict peacebuilding. United Nations peacekeepers should be tasked only with initial peacebuilding duties. Processes supporting socioeconomic development should be more actively undertaken by specialized United Nations agencies and regional organizations.

We share the view that there is a need for ongoing dialogue between the Council and troop-contributing countries (TCCs) on all aspects of the work of peacekeeping operations, including at the planning and mandate-development stages. Interaction with TCCs will allow the Council to develop clearer and more realistic peacekeeping goals, with strict monitoring of their implementation, and to curb attempts to broaden their interpretation.

We hope that today's meeting will confirm our common interest in further improving the effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping operations, which must be undertaken in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, the norms of international law, and unfailing regard for the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. This is the political guarantee of the successful conduct of operations.

We would like to thank India for having prepared the draft presidential statement, which we fully support.

**Mr. Briens** (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to join previous speakers in condemning in the strongest terms the reprehensible attack just carried out against the United Nations in Abuja. We express our compassion for and solidarity with the victims and their families, to the Government of Nigeria and, through the Secretary-General, to all United Nations staff, who prove their dedication to peace on a daily basis.

I thank you, Sir, for your initiative to hold this meeting on the most important subject of peacekeeping, a pillar of United Nations activity. France associates itself with the statement to be delivered on behalf of the European Union.

Peacekeeping operations have become one of the most visible areas of United Nations activity. We have seen a considerable increase in recent years of the resources deployed on the ground and the goals to be met. The growing complexity and diversity of missions require enhanced cooperation between regional organizations and strengthened synergy among peacekeeping and peacebuilding stakeholders.

I recall the steadfast commitment of France to building United Nations peacekeeping capacities. France participates in seven of the 16 peacekeeping operations, contributing more than 1,500 men and women. Beyond this direct contribution, France also contributes approximately 6,000 men and women to United Nations-mandated peacekeeping operations of the European Union, NATO or on a national basis. As such, France has a presence off the coast of Somalia and in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Côte d'Ivoire.

Above all, France supports the participation of African States in peacekeeping operations through African peacekeeping capacity-building programmes. In the context of training and support for African contingents, France has established national schools with a regional focus to impart operational and technical expertise adapted to the needs of African armies. These schools provide the same quality of teaching given in France, adapted to local conditions. Since 1997, more than 14,000 European and African students have been trained in the 16 schools we support.

Since the Franco-British initiative of 2009, we have continued to call for strengthened military expertise, enhanced cooperation between the Council and troop- and police-contributing countries, and better cost-control in peacekeeping operations.

While a number of recommendations of the Brahimi report (S/2000/809), published more than 10 years ago, remain valid, I would like to focus on three aspects that we view as vital for improving peacekeeping: the protection of civilians, inter-mission cooperation, and the establishment of peacekeeping-to-peacebuilding transition strategies.

First, the protection of civilians is one of the primary objectives of peacekeeping mandates. Peacekeepers must be trained in this task and behave

beyond reproach on the ground. Peacekeepers are tasked with establishing an environment of security to allow for the resumption of political processes. This requires the implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes, including for children affected by conflict, security sector reform programmes, and programmes strengthening the rule of law.

Women are among the main assets for transforming societies, and it is therefore vital to strengthen their participation in decision-making. Integrating women into police and armed forces will make it possible to fight sexual and gender-based violence and to promote human rights in these institutions. Advisors on the protection of children and women must play an ever greater role in missions.

Secondly, with regard to inter-mission cooperation, when unforeseen events threaten to destabilize a country and to cast it back into the cycle of violence, inter-mission cooperation provides for a specific and effective response to strengthen missions in a timely manner with the personnel and materials they need. We saw this in Côte d'Ivoire, where cooperation between the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire and the United Nations Mission in Liberia played a decisive role. Helicopter reinforcements allowed heavy weaponry to be neutralized and continue to allow traffic and the movement of mercenaries at the Liberian border to be monitored.

Similarly, cooperation among missions and peacebuilding offices, as well as with regional organizations, must allow us to be more effective in the fight against such cross-cutting threats as the Lord's Resistance Army in Africa, piracy or trafficking, which have the potential to destabilize entire regions.

Finally, cooperation and the sharing of resources among neighbouring missions should allow us to make economies of scale in order to meet the demands of good management and budget constraints.

Beyond the primary need to protect civilians, there are also the need to develop crisis exit strategies that ensure a return to lasting peace, particularly on the social, economic and political fronts in societies often decimated by conflict. We count on the Peacebuilding Commission to instil greater coherence in the actions of the international community in post-conflict situations.

Peacebuilding priorities must be taken into account at the earliest stages of crisis management so as to anticipate the conditions and mechanisms needed to emerge from the crisis. It is therefore necessary to take into account as soon as possible emerging threats such as drug and human trafficking, organized crime and corruption, which have the potential to destabilize fragile countries.

In conclusion, we recall that the success of peacekeeping missions is the result of the joint efforts of Council members, financial contributors, troop- and police-contributing countries and the Secretariat. These efforts are futile, however, without the firm commitment of the host country.

Finally, France pays tribute to the Blue Helmets of all nationalities, who sometimes give their lives in their dedication to peace.

**Mr. Salam** (Lebanon): At the outset, I would like to join the Secretary-General and my colleagues in condemning today's terrorist attacks in Abuja in the strongest terms and to express our deep sympathy and heartfelt condolences to its victims, their families, the people and Government of Nigeria, and the United Nations and all its members.

I wish to express our appreciation to you, Sir, for having organized this important debate and to extend our thanks to the Secretary-General for his important introductory remarks.

Lebanon aligns itself with the statement to be made by Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The success of United Nations peacekeeping requires partnership and regular consultation among the Security Council, the Secretariat and troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs). These notions are at the heart of the draft presidential statement to be adopted today, which Lebanon fully supports. We advocate the further involvement of TCCs and PCCs in all the planning and deployment stages of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Peacekeeping should be not an end in itself, but rather part of a solution. The comprehensive resolution of conflicts by dealing with their root causes, whether political, social or economic, remains the objective. In our region, an end to the Israeli occupation in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon — the root cause of the

conflict — is a prerequisite to any comprehensive resolution and successful transition of United Nations peacekeeping missions in the Middle East.

Peacekeeping is not an alternative to an inclusive political process. It rather provides space for such processes that can guarantee the protection of civilians and the achievement of sustainable peace. Respect for the safety and security of United Nations peacekeepers and positions is not only critical to the implementation of their mandate, but is also a measure of the primacy of international law and respect for Security Council resolutions.

Lebanon considers that the main underpinning of the success of a peacekeeping operation rests on the following elements: first, developing clear and achievable mandates matched with the required resources and timely logistical support; secondly, adherence to the general principles of peacekeeping; thirdly, a strong link between peacekeeping and peacebuilding — the interactions between security and development are clearer than ever; and fourthly, strengthening the role of regional and subregional organizations, specifically the African Union, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

Peacekeeping remains the most cost-effective method to avoid conflict. The goal is the realization of more efficient peacekeeping adapted to the new complex realities of military, police, civilian and humanitarian components all together, in some missions and mandates that have less to do with conflict between States and more with intra-State conflict.

To achieve that goal, and to ensure the creation of a more predictable, professional and accountable peacekeeping system, we should emphasize the key role of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in policy formulation and development. We should also enhance regular coordination on peacebuilding tasks with the Peacebuilding Commission in a manner that stresses national ownership and the prioritization of peacebuilding needs. To also ensure that peacekeeping remains an expression of our collective security actions, we should enlarge the base of troop-contributing countries in a manner that responds to the scope and scale of peacekeeping needs.

As peacekeeping now appears to be entering a period of consolidation after a substantial period of growth, it is high time to draw on lessons learned in order to improve the critical early peacebuilding tasks undertaken by peacekeepers. We should focus not only on areas such as police, corrections, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and security sector reform, among others, but also on economic revival and sustainable development. It is clear today that peacekeeping and peacebuilding are not sequential. It is also clear that transition should be based on benchmarking against indicators in all fields.

On capability development, we all know where the critical gaps are. We thus need a comprehensive, capability-driven approach that addresses uniform capability requirements, including force enablers such as air assets, as well as civilian ones.

On global field support, we are glad that the Secretariat has moved from a mission-centred to a more global management approach.

Turning now to Lebanon, we reiterate the full support of the Lebanese people and their Government to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). We would also like to reiterate our condemnation in the strongest terms of all attacks that have targeted UNIFIL and UNTSO. The Lebanese people highly appreciate the important role that UNIFIL plays in South Lebanon and fully recognizes the grave sacrifices it has made. UNIFIL has been steadfast in its support for the Lebanese people in their efforts to end the Israeli occupation of their land. UNIFIL is also our partner in mine clearance and in development efforts in South Lebanon. The Lebanese people and their Government express their sincere thanks and appreciation to the peoples and Governments of each and every troop-contributing country.

**Mrs. Dunlop** (Brazil): First and foremost, echoing my Government's note issued early this morning, I would like to express my country's condemnation and regret regarding the terrible attack against the United Nations in Abuja. We express our condolences to the families of the victims, to the people and Government of Nigeria and, through the Secretary-General, to the whole United Nations family. Brazil supports a firm condemnation by the Security Council of this outrageous act.

I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his briefing this morning.

I commend your delegation, Mr. President, for promoting today's debate and for the thoughtful concept note that you have provided (S/2011/496, annex). As one of the largest contributors to peacekeeping today, India is particularly well placed to lead a discussion on the future of these operations.

The complexities of the situations that Blue Helmets encounter demand a constant effort to improve the functioning of the peacekeeping system. At the moment, we face two main challenges.

The first challenge is ensuring that peacekeeping generates a truly sustainable peace. In the current financial climate, there will always be pressure to do less or to draw down earlier. However, especially in times of straitened means, we must break the cycle of violence and establish the basis for long-term peace. Renewed attention must be given to early peacebuilding and the promotion of political solutions to conflict.

The second challenge is making our troops on the ground more effective. Our performance can and should be constantly improved. We must work harder to build a common understanding of what is expected of peacekeepers, including through the development of baseline standards. We also support the Secretariat in its continued efforts to elaborate more advanced, scenario-based training, especially regarding the protection of civilians and response to conflict-related sexual violence.

The United Nations must also ensure that countries willing to contribute have the material conditions to prepare, train and equip them in an adequate fashion. This must include both direct support to troop-contributing countries and cooperation to increase the capabilities of regional organizations such as the African Union.

The draft presidential statement to be adopted today signals the Council's firm commitment to the guiding principles of peacekeeping: consent of the parties, impartiality, and use of force only in self-defence or in defence of the mandate. It also underlines that peacekeeping is built upon the concept of partnership and highlights the central role of troop-contributing countries in that partnership.

Each country makes a distinctive contribution. The individual capabilities and viewpoints that each troop-contributing country has to offer must be recognized and encouraged. The Charter itself underlines the need for the Council to consult countries that provide armed forces to it.

Strengthening triangular cooperation between the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries is therefore very important. The Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations can make crucial contributions in this regard.

In Haiti and elsewhere, Brazil has sought to make its distinctive contribution to peacekeeping. Brazilian troops, police and military observers are present in seven peacekeeping missions across four continents. Brazil's culture and experience have led us to give particular emphasis to, for example, civil-military cooperation, military engineering, and pairing military operations with social action.

Brazil's long-standing commitment to United Nations peacekeeping reflects our determination to make a positive contribution to maintaining international peace and security. The United Nations can continue to count on Brazil to maintain and enforce the highest standards of conduct and discipline and to send the most capable and qualified volunteers to serve under the United Nations flag.

**Mr. DeLaurentis** (United States of America): Let me begin, as others have, with a word on what happened in Abuja, Nigeria, this morning. The United States condemns in the strongest possible terms the horrific attack on the United Nations offices in Abuja this morning. The victims are humanitarians, development experts, and members of our United Nations family. We stand ready to offer whatever help and assistance are needed by the United Nations and our Nigerian friends to recover, to rebuild and to bring the perpetrators to justice. We extend our deepest condolences to the United Nations, to the people of Nigeria and to the families, friends and colleagues of the victims.

I am honoured to convey the United States warm thanks to India and to you personally, Sir, for having organized today's open debate on peacekeeping operations. It is particularly appropriate for India to have organized this debate, given its decades-long commitment as a leading contributor of troops and police to United Nations operations across the globe. We thank your for your country's contributions and sacrifice.

We would also like to extend our compliments on the thought-provoking concept paper (S/2011/496, annex) that you circulated to the Council to stimulate discussion. The paper has helped to bring to the fore issues on which we hold different perspectives, and has also enabled us to see where we are all in clear agreement.

First and foremost, we fully concur that the success of United Nations peacekeeping is dependent on a strong partnership among the Security Council members, the troop-contributing countries (TCCs), police-contributing countries (PCCs) and the Secretariat. We are particularly pleased that today's draft presidential statement calls for concrete measures to enhance the Council's consultations with TCCs and PCCs, and seeks more regular input from United Nations force commanders, police commissioners and other current and acting serving uniformed personnel who can provide us with a critical understanding of the challenges and realities they face on the ground. We also welcome India's suggestion that the Council more regularly enlist the good offices and diplomatic engagement of TCCs and PCCs in countries or regions where peacekeeping operations are deployed and where their engagement could bolster efforts to overcome challenges and obstacles to a peace process.

As we take these steps, we concurrently renew our commitment to the full peacekeeping reform agenda that has been the subject of intense discussion in the Security Council and the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. Several aspects of that reform agenda remain important works in progress.

With respect to the protection of civilians, we welcome the work being done by the Secretariat to develop operational training and planning tools to enhance the ability of United Nations peacekeeping operations to effectively implement their protection of civilians mandates. We encourage troop and police contributors, as well as missions in the field, to use this material and provide feedback.

With respect to helicopters, we share the concerns of the Secretariat and the TCCs that the chronic lack of military helicopters significantly hampers the ability of United Nations peacekeeping operations to implement their mandates, including for the protection of civilians. We believe that addressing this strategic gap should remain a high priority and requires a multifaceted response and creative thinking from Member States and the Secretariat alike.

On mission leadership, we appreciate the Secretary-General's recent efforts to strengthen the appointment process for senior field personnel. The quality of mission leadership can sometimes mean the difference between success and failure. We support measures to equip and empower mission leaders to implement their mandates and to hold them accountable for results. But this responsibility is not the Secretary-General's alone. We, the Member States, must put forward our very best and most qualified candidates for senior leadership positions.

On standards and capabilities, properly equipping mission leaders means providing them with troops able to meet clear performance standards. We welcome the Secretariat's recent work to develop model standards for infantry battalions.

On the rule of law, we believe that equal if not greater attention is required to enhancing the United Nations performance standards in the areas of police, justice and corrections. The work to strengthen local rule of law institutions is critical to building a self-sustaining peace. Further, the different parts of the United Nations system engaged in the rule of law need to strengthen their partnership and deliver as one.

On civilian capacity, the rule of law is one but not the only area where there is much work to be done to ensure that the United Nations has qualified civilians available as and when needed. The Senior Advisory Group report on civilian capacity (S/2011/85) illuminated the issues that we must address to provide post-conflict countries and special representatives of the Secretary-General with the best deployable civilian expertise to support political processes and develop national capacities. The United States welcomes the work of Under-Secretary-General Malcorra and her team to develop implementable measures from the Guéhenno report's recommendations.

There is a lot of good work being done to improve United Nations peacekeeping, but there are equally some serious challenges and gaps. As we go forward, we encourage the Secretary-General to give us candid assessments of what missions can and cannot do within the capabilities available to them. If a mission is unable to effectively discharge its mandate for the protection of civilians because it lacks adequately trained and equipped troops, is missing

desperately needed helicopters, suffers from deficient command, control and communications systems, or struggles with certain TCCs maintaining national caveats, then we need to know. And while it is true that gaps may exist between mandates and means, let us also recognize that a third key ingredient is the political will of individual missions or troop contingents to take robust action when they have the means and the mandate to do so.

We look forward to further discussion among all peacekeeping stakeholders on providing peacekeepers with the mandates and means they need, as well as the resolve that host populations rightfully demand and expect. The United States applauds the many achievements of United Nations peacekeeping over more than 60 years. We honour the sacrifices of the men and women — military, police and civilian — who have served under the blue United Nations flag in the furtherance of peace, and especially remember with our deepest gratitude those who have lost their lives in service.

**Mr. Barbalić** (Bosnia and Herzegovina): On behalf of my Government, allow me to express our deep sorrow and concern in regards to the bombing of the United Nations building in Abuja. This act must certainly be strongly condemned. Allow me also to express our condolences to the Government of Nigeria, the Nigerian people, the United Nations family and, of course, the families of all the victims.

At the outset, we would like to thank India for having organized this important debate, and the Secretary-General for his important contribution today.

As the key instrument of the Security Council and a collective undertaking of Member States committed to maintaining international peace and security, peacekeeping has evolved into an enterprise complex in the scope of its mandates, size and nature. In order to retain their credibility and effectively discharge their mandate, missions must be based on a clear and common understanding of the guiding principles of peacekeeping: the consent of the parties, non-use of force except in self-defence, and impartiality.

Peacekeeping missions must be provided with clear, credible and achievable mandates, matched with adequate resources, in order to fulfil their mandated tasks. With significant peacebuilding tasks in their mandates, such multidimensional peacekeeping missions now include diverse activities and require manifold expertise. Coordination between the peacekeeping mission and other stakeholders must be exercised in a coherent and integrated manner.

From its inception phase, the mission needs to anticipate and analyse which structures of the host Government should be supported in order to provide sufficient capacity to gradually take over responsibilities from a peacekeeping mission. The issue of consent and its possible implications for the concept of State sovereignty are of vital importance where the concerns and priorities of the host Government must be taken into account.

Building the capacities of regional and subregional organizations is an important additional aspect, in which the transfer of knowledge, training and the application of lessons learned from previous peacekeeping missions are crucial. Additionally, integrating mission expertise and experience and improving the consideration of and reflection on early peacebuilding tasks in the mandates and composition of peacekeeping operations will lead towards a better, more successful and effective transition from a peacekeeping mission to other forms of United Nations presence.

More efficient exchange of information and consultations among the Council, the Secretariat and troop- contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs) are indispensable. In that way, the Council can receive credible information from the field that is relevant to the decision-making process, while TCCs and PCCs can optimize their contributions. We believe that regular meetings between the Council members and TCCs and PCCs before the mandate renewal should include a detailed agenda to encourage discussions on operational challenges and mandate implementation on the ground.

The Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations has an important role as a forum for the exchange of views on enhancing cooperation among the TCCs and PCCs, the Secretariat and the Security Council. We believe that the concrete and practical recommendations of the forum should be taken into consideration by all relevant stakeholders. Briefings by heads of military components or on the mandate implementation of individual peacekeeping missions should contribute not only to a better understanding of operational challenges, but also to how available capabilities influence mandate implementation.

Member States should continue to improve their efforts in responding to requests for the provision of personnel to United Nations peacekeeping operations. They need to be fully aware of requirements related to the force generation process, particularly in the early stages of mandate formulation.

As a troop- and police-contributing country, Bosnia and Herzegovina has always emphasized the importance of cooperation, consultations and exchange of views with troop- and police-contributing countries in order to reach a common understanding of a mission's mandate and implementation. That is also necessary for mobilizing and generating the support of Member States with regard to skills, equipment or capacity.

In order to make peacekeeping more effective, all stakeholders must be meaningfully engaged. They need to optimize their performance, increase or make the best use of available resources, and, finally, constantly assess, build upon and advance that complex enterprise mandated to perform tasks for the maintenance of international peace and security.

**Mr. Berger** (Germany): Germany strongly condemns the terrorist attack against United Nations House in Abuja. We convey our heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims, the Government of Nigeria and the whole United Nations family.

I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his insightful briefing and you, Mr. President, for organizing today's important debate. As we all know, India is one of the countries that has most contributed to peacekeeping over many decades. Germany aligns itself with the statement to be made by the European Union observer a little later. We commend the active and useful role of the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations in this field, and we would like to thank Ambassador Ogwu for her able chairmanship.

Peacekeeping operations are at the heart of the United Nations role to maintain international peace and security. We need a comprehensive and coherent approach. That includes the need to continually adapt preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding to changing circumstances. In recent years, much has been achieved in terms of reforming United Nations peacekeeping, including doctrine and capability review. Building on those efforts to adapt and to strengthen effective peacekeeping, we consider it vital to continuously review and develop its key areas, in particular the design and management of missions; delivery in the field, including enhanced deployment; clarifying and delivering on critical roles; and improving mission impact and building for the future. Against that backdrop, I would like to highlight some specific aspects that are of particular concern to us in those key areas.

First, designing mandates and missions should build on an inclusive planning process, involving at an early stage a broad range of experts and potential capability providers, notably including troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs), as well as the main financial contributors. The role of corrections in peacekeeping settings should also be taken into account. A decision-making process that includes interaction with major stakeholders at an early stage could contribute to managing expectations and facilitate an effective force generation process. Such procedures are mandatory in other international organizations. To that end, the role of the Military Staff Committee should be revitalized and strengthened.

Furthermore, from the beginning, whenever possible, peacekeeping mandates should have clear benchmarks inserted and monitored in order to lay the ground for transition towards exit, based on sustainable political solutions. Partnership in peacekeeping and peacebuilding is crucial. We fully support initiatives to improve communication and to find a better system for consistently pooling information from TCCs, military experts, PCCs, the main financial contributors and other key stakeholders in peace processes.

Secondly, with regard to delivery in the field, including enhanced deployment, peacekeeping requires adequate means and efficient structures. In that context, we strongly support the implementation of the global field support strategy.

In reference to the deployment of staff, let me add two points on civilian staff and police. Civilian staff have a critical role to play in the peacekeeping context as they provide political, humanitarian, human rights and leadership roles, as well as management and related administrative functions. In that context, I would like to reiterate our support for the swift implementation of the civilian capacities review. We should build on existing local capacities and the capacities of Member States and regional organizations. Internal United Nations rules and

regulations need to be adapted in order to improve conditions for Member States that wish to support the United Nations with their civilian capacities.

Police generation, however difficult, remains crucial. While the global commitment of trained police is high, the challenge to source sufficient numbers of police to ensure that well-trained police officers are sent to secure the sustainability of their effort remains.

Thirdly, with regard to delivering on critical roles, the protection of civilians has increasingly become a yardstick for measuring the success of peacekeeping operations. That represents both an opportunity and a challenge. It is an opportunity since the protection of civilians is now widely accepted as a part of peacekeeping mandates, while respecting the primary responsibility of States to protect their civilians. However, it also represents a challenge with regard to the discrepancy between aspirations, also contained in mandates of the Security Council, and the reality on the ground, notably with respect to the capabilities of missions to effectively implement protection tasks. We therefore advocate strengthening the evaluation of protection measures, fostering inter-mission exchange and drawing on lessons learned more intensively.

In the context of the protection of civilians, children in armed conflict deserve our special attention. They are the most vulnerable members of societies, both as victims and as coerced participants in conflicts. Special protection from violence, including sexual violence, and for schools and hospitals is necessary, as stated in the recently adopted resolution 1998 (2011), as are specific approaches in the field of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

Peacekeepers transform mandates into concrete actions on the ground and keep hope for peace alive. Clearly defined mandates, adequate resources and reliable command and control structures are crucial for successful peacekeeping. They are also crucial for a successful transition from peacekeeping to peacebuilding.

Germany remains committed to all initiatives supporting more efficient and effective peacekeeping. There are no alternatives to peacekeeping operations. However, we should keep in mind that their deployment should be a last resort. The prevention of conflicts needs to be the priority.

To conclude, let me take this opportunity to thank all United Nations military and civilian personnel involved in past and current peacekeeping operations for their duty and to express our deepest appreciation.

I thank the Indian delegation for preparing the draft presidential statement, which we fully support.

**Mr. Sangqu** (South Africa): South Africa joins the Secretary-General in condemning in the strongest possible terms the bombing of the United Nations building in Abuja. We express our deep sympathy and condolences to the victims of this heinous crime, to their families, to the people and Government of our sister country Nigeria and to the United Nations family.

We thank the Indian delegation for organizing this important debate on the state of United Nations peacekeeping. We also thank the Secretary-General for sharing his views on this flagship activity of the Organization.

South Africa aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by the representative of Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

This debate highlights once again the urgency of meaningfully and collectively addressing the complexity of peacekeeping today. Peacekeeping is one of the major means at the disposal of the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, in fulfilling its Charter-mandated responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

We would like to stress that peacekeeping is not by itself a panacea for conflict resolution. It must be an integral part of the broader political solution to the underlying causes of conflict. South Africa therefore supports efforts to promote and strengthen political solutions to conflicts, including through mediation, conflict prevention and management and peacebuilding. That is clearly espoused in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.

In light of the changing nature of conflict characterized by intra-State conflicts, strong military States and well-resourced opposition groups, the Security Council must emphasize making full use of political processes, including those initiated by regional organizations. In that way, peacekeeping missions can simultaneously help to support efforts to achieve sustainable peace.

My delegation wishes to reiterate that United Nations peacekeeping missions must consistently be in consonance with the principles and goals enshrined in the United Nations Charter. The principles of consent of parties, the non-use of force except in self-defence, clear and robust mandates, and impartiality must be faithfully adhered to. We must ensure that United Nations peacekeeping is not politicized or misused in any manner other than that mandated by the Council. We must guard against the perception that United Nations peacekeeping is partisan, as that undermines the credibility of the United Nations.

The issue of flexible, predictable and sustainable resources for peacekeeping operations — especially as it relates to the African continent — is critical. The African Union continues to play a leading role in conflict prevention and management and the resolution of conflicts on the continent, in line with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. It will be necessary for this Council to take bold steps and move beyond well-known rhetoric to ensure that African Union missions that are authorized by the Council, including the African Union Mission in Somalia, are provided with sufficient resources, enablers and capabilities to carry out their mandates.

While we are further encouraged by the Secretary-General's observation in his report on support to African Union peacekeeping operations (S/2009/470), which acknowledges the African contribution to peacekeeping, the report also highlights Africa's needs in the area of conflict management. We believe the report also reaffirms the role of regional organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security, as provided for in Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

My delegation is of the view that burden-sharing is key to dealing with the complex challenges of peacekeeping. While many of us acknowledge the importance of our collective responsibility for effective peacekeeping, that should be guided by political will and matched by actual actions on the ground. For that reason we encourage the general membership of the United Nations to generously contribute to all peacekeeping operations, both in personnel and equipment.

South Africa supports the enhancement of the triangular cooperation among the Security Council, troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and the Secretariat, aimed at improving the effectiveness of peacekeeping from the planning through to the exit stages. We also commend the role of the Security Council Working Group of the Whole on Peacekeeping Operations, under the chairmanship of Nigeria, which has been integral to enhancing the Council's relationship with TCCs.

It is common knowledge that peacekeepers are early peacebuilders, as they primarily provide a secure environment conducive to the implementation of early peacebuilding tasks. South Africa maintains that integrated peacekeeping and peacebuilding can play an important role in establishing the foundations for sustainable peace, rule of law and good governance. Creating, maintaining and sustaining peace require an integrated approach that incorporates early peacebuilding activities during the start-up of peacekeeping missions.

We believe that gender mainstreaming in peace missions ensures that women's concerns and experiences are at the forefront of the policy aspects of peacekeeping operations. We commend the work that has been done so far by the Secretary-General to ensure that the number of women in leadership positions is increased. South Africa welcomes the strategic role that UN-Women will play in facilitating the integration of gender perspective in the implementation of peacekeeping mandates.

We look forward to the adoption of the draft presidential statement before us, as it will add impetus to the Council's peacekeeping efforts and build on its relationship with TCCs.

Finally, we pay tribute to all the men and women who have served and to those who will continue to serve in United Nations peacekeeping operations. We commend their dedication and courage to keep the world a safer and better place. We pay special tribute to those who have paid the ultimate price in the service of peace and humanity.

**The President**: I shall now make a statement in my national capacity.

At the outset, I would like to thank the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, for his participation and statement in today's open debate. I also want to join the Secretary-General and other colleagues members of the Security Council in condemning in the strongest terms the bombing of the

United Nations building in Abuja, Nigeria, this morning. It caused numerous deaths and injuries, and I join others in expressing our deep sympathy and condolences to the victims of this heinous crime and to their families and to the people and Government of Nigeria. I also join the Secretary-General in conveying to the larger United Nations family our deepest sympathies on this tragic terrorist action.

Peacekeeping is a term that does not find mention in the United Nations Charter. Yet it has become the face of the United Nations. It consumes more resources, employs more people and occupies a greater share of the Security Council's time than any other single issue, and no other Council instrument has had a greater impact on the provenance and application of international law and international humanitarian law than its peacekeeping mandates. Peacekeeping has also generated a reputation of impartiality and fairness for the United Nations.

India is proud to have been associated with United Nations peacekeeping from its very inception. As a country that has contributed more than 100,000 peacekeepers to virtually every United Nations peacekeeping operation over the past six decades, we are also conscious that much has changed since the first peacekeeping missions were launched more than five decades ago.

The geopolitical environment in which peacekeeping is conducted today is vastly different from that of those days. Global capabilities — economic, political and military — have also shifted significantly. Moreover, today peacekeeping missions deal predominantly with intra-State issues rather than play the classic role of interposing troops between warring States. The peacekeeping agenda has also added new dimensions to various civilian and policing domains, and United Nations initiatives on peacebuilding demand close examination of the entire enterprise of peacekeeping.

The challenge before the international community is to build on the legacy of peacekeeping and ensure that it remains relevant to current realities. Today, United Nations peacekeeping faces a number of challenges, including the central resource gap challenge and peacekeepers being asked to do more with less. Ambitious agendas are not being backed by the necessary financial, operational and logistical resources. That lack of resources affects the operational effectiveness of peacekeeping and casts a shadow on the credibility of the Council's mandates. Mandates also need to be relevant to realities in the ground.

Suggestions that the Council adopt a two-stage mandate-creation process that takes into account the complexities on the ground and matches those with resource requirements need to be seriously and urgently considered by the Council. In-depth consultations with troop- and police-contributing countries should be an integral part of the mandate-generation process.

India also notes the slow and cumbersome process of recruitment for key positions. This process will not only be speeded up by greater reliance on seconded capacities from Governments of Member States, but will also benefit from their real experiences in nation-building. This holds true not only for field positions but also in the management structures of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support.

Given the importance of Africa on the United Nations peacekeeping agenda, India supports the capacity-building of the African Union (AU) peace and security architecture so that the AU may become a more effective and capable partner of the United Nations system.

Peacekeeping is a partnership involving members of this Council, the General Assembly, troop- and police-contributing countries and the host country. It is critical that the guiding principles of consent, the non-use of force except in self-defence or the defence of the mandate, and impartiality be strenuously guarded. This is important to ensure that United Nations peacekeeping retains its credibility and universal acceptability.

Of late, several United Nations peacekeeping mandates have included tasks that raise questions on the fundamental tenet of consent, placing peacekeepers in difficult legal circumstances and thereby hampering their effectiveness. The principle of national ownership needs to occupy centre stage in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities of the United Nations.

I would like to conclude by paying homage to those peacekeepers, including from my country, who have laid down their lives while serving in United Nations missions.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

After consultations among Council members, I have been authorized to make the following statement on their behalf:

"The Security Council reaffirms its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"The Security Council affirms that respect for the basic principles of peacekeeping, including consent of the parties, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence and the defence of a mandate authorized by the Security Council, is essential to the success of peacekeeping operations.

"The Security Council stresses the role of the United Nations peacekeepers in supporting efforts to promote political processes and peaceful settlements of disputes. The Security Council underlines the need for precise, full and effective implementation of mandates and its intention to continue to review and monitor such implementation on a regular basis. The Security Council recognizes the role of regional organizations in peacekeeping in accordance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

"The Security Council recognizes the importance of providing peacekeeping operations with clear, credible and achievable mandates. It also recognizes the need for an adequate provision, management and efficient and effective use of operational and logistical resources for peacekeeping operations, in congruence with approved mandates and based on a realistic assessment of the situation. The Security Council also requests that the Secretary-General include a realistic assessment of how available capabilities and logistic planning affect implementation of the various mandate elements in briefings regarding specific peacekeeping operations.

"The Security Council welcomes efforts by Member States to respond more quickly to requests for the provision of personnel to take part in United Nations peacekeeping operations and underlines the importance of swift force generation in the early stages of mandate formulation.

"The Security Council believes that United Nations peacekeeping is a unique global partnership that draws together the contribution and commitment of the entire United Nations system. The Security Council stresses the need to improve the communication between the Security Council, the troop-contributing countries and police-contributing countries and the Secretariat and other stakeholders in accordance with resolution 1353 (2001) to foster a spirit of partnership, cooperation, confidence and mutual trust and to ensure that the Security Council has the benefit of the views of those serving in the field when making its decisions about peacekeeping mandates. The Security Council also underlines the importance of an improved system of consultations amongst these actors, in order to promote a common understanding of the situation on the ground, of the mission's mandate and of its implementation. The Council welcomes practical suggestions to improve this relationship and underscores the useful role of its Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations.

"The Security Council reaffirms the recommendations made in its resolutions 1327 (2000) and 1353 (2001) and in the statements of its President dated 3 May 1994 (S/PRST/1994/22), 4 November 1994 (S/PRST/1994/62), 28 March 1996 (S/PRST/1996/13), 31 January 2001 (S/PRST/2001/3), 17 May 2004 (S/PRST/2004/16) and 5 August 2009 (S/PRST/2009/24) and the note by its President of 14 January 2002 (S/2002/56) and confirms its intentions to strengthen further efforts to implement fully these recommendations.

"The Security Council recalls, in particular, the statement of its President dated 4 November 1994 (S/PRST/1994/62) and its resolution 1353 (2001) and the decision contained therein to circulate an informal paper setting out the agenda, including issues to be covered and drawing attention to the relevant background documentation to troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs) when they are invited to attend meetings with the Council or the Secretary-General. The Council requests that the Secretariat circulate to troop-contributing countries and police-contributing

countries by the 15th of each month notice of and invitation to the Council's upcoming TCC/PCC meetings that are anticipated to take place during the following month on individual peacekeeping mission mandates. This routine notification mechanism shall not constrain the Council from convening additional special, emergency or short-notice TCC/PCC meetings as circumstances may make appropriate.

"The Security Council recognizes the need to improve its access to military advice, including from troop-contributing countries, and intends to pursue its work on mechanisms to that effect. The Council will continue to review the role of the Military Staff Committee. The Security Council recognizes the benefit of maintaining regular contact with mission senior leadership, including through an annual briefing by heads of military components. The Council would welcome similar briefings by heads of police components in order to improve understanding of operational challenges.

"The Council expresses its commitment to continuing to improve its consideration of and reflection on early peacebuilding tasks in the mandates and composition of peacekeeping operations. In this context, the Council notes with appreciation the contribution that peacekeepers and peacekeeping missions make to early peacebuilding and recognizes the need to integrate mission expertise and experience into the development of peacebuilding strategies.

"The Council also recognizes the important work conducted by the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly.

"The Council commits to making progress on the issue of more meaningful engagement with troop-contributing countries and police-contributing countries and to reviewing progress in 2012."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2011/17.

In accordance with the understanding reached among Council members, I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than four minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously.

I now give the floor to the representative of Guatemala.

**Mr. Rosenthal** (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): Guatemala wishes to join the delegations that have expressed their horror at the attack carried out this morning in Abuja. We offer our profound condolences to the United Nations family and the Government and people of Nigeria.

Allow me, Sir, to thank you for having convened this open debate on the subject of United Nations peacekeeping operations, and in particular for the very pertinent concept note you prepared to guide our debate (S/2011/496, annex). I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his presentation to us this morning.

Guatemala is a country that has benefited from United Nations peacekeeping, especially in the area of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration immediately after our peace accords were signed in late 1996. We have also participated actively in peacekeeping operations as a troop-contributing country. In other words, we have been both a beneficiary of and contributor to peacekeeping, and the topic is therefore of more than passing interest to us.

We agree with the concept note that peacekeeping operations have been a central enterprise of our Organization, and, on balance, highly successful. Their nature and scope have changed considerably over the years, especially since the landmark report of Lakhdar Brahimi of 2000 (S/2000/809). We note from the United Nations website on peacekeeping that, since then, the Secretariat has prepared 21 major reports on the subject, covering many areas that had not previously been taken into account. There is also a forward-looking agenda thanks to the New Horizon process, of which the concept note curiously makes no mention. Peacekeeping also dovetails into peacebuilding, which widens and deepens this thematic topic.

I would like to address only one aspect of this broad and complex topic, which relates to the distribution of responsibilities among Member States in peacekeeping operations. The issue is mentioned in the concept note, but my inspiration comes primarily from my personal experience chairing the discussions in the

Fifth Committee on the peacekeeping budget for July 2011 to June 2012. My main point is that, so long as roughly 90 per cent of the budget is provided by less than 10 industrialized countries, while roughly 90 per cent of the troops are provided by a different set of 10 developing countries, we will have a great deal of accumulated tension that is tantamount to an accident waiting to happen, or, if you will, a potential collision between States that could compromise the future of such endeavours.

A statement of only five, or rather four, minutes does not leave much room for elaboration, and even less for formulating proposals. But the diagnosis is clear. We must rationalize the manner in which the rates of reimbursement for costs undertaken by troop-contributing countries are calculated. On the other side of the equation, we may want to revisit the scale of assessments to finance peacekeeping.

My main concern, however, arises from the troop contributor's point of view. There is no rational explanation of how the rates for compensating troop and equipment contributors are calculated, and no rational cost-benefit analysis on United Nations peacekeeping as a whole. Of course, the benefit of saving lives and keeping the peace cannot be expressed in dollars and cents, but the costs of doing so do have precise numerical values. The only thing we have to go on for now is that, clearly, the United Nations is getting value for money when it comes to peacekeeping.

In our judgment, it is not useful to view peacekeeping as a large-scale outsourcing exercise through which developed countries contract lower-cost troops from developing countries to carry out the hard and dangerous work. Among other things, this is quite degrading for troop-contributing countries.

Speaking for my own country at least, we perceive participation in peacekeeping not as a well-remunerated service, but as a genuine partnership under the flag of the United Nations in order to accomplish what the Charter intended — the noble aim of keeping the peace. It is the sense of pride and professionalization of our armed forces, as well as a sense of commitment, that motivate us to participate in peacekeeping, even in countries far from our own, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Having said that, we expect to recuperate the cost of our participation in peacekeeping, in the spirit reflected in General Assembly resolution 63/285 and further developed in paragraphs 69 and 70 of resolution 65/289 on the review of the methodology for rates of reimbursement to troop-contributing countries.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Argentina.

**Mr. Oyarzábal** (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): First, I would like to express my country's most vigorous condemnation of the attack on United Nations House in Abuja, and extend our condolences to the families of the victims, the Government of Nigeria and the United Nations family.

Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on the work you have carried out in presiding over the Security Council during the month of August and to thank you for having convened this open debate on an issue to which Argentina attributes great importance.

Argentina supports the development of a transparent and democratic peacekeeping system within the framework of the United Nations, with consolidated multilateral institutions and mechanisms that serve to ensure respect for international law. Since peacekeeping operations are the essential United Nations tool for maintaining international peace and security, our active participation in these operations is clear evidence of our commitment to that system, which in our view must be progressively improved and strengthened.

In addition to contributing to strengthening the peacekeeping system, another fundamental reason for our participation in peacekeeping missions is the close link between peacekeeping and the protection of human rights, particularly through the rebuilding of institutions and the strengthening of democracy and the rule of law in countries where increasingly complex multidimensional operations are deployed. In this regard, we believe that the move towards this type of more complex and integrated mission, with a clear mandate and robust rules of engagement, constitutes one of the greatest achievements of the last decade and one which we must preserve and improve.

Argentina is currently participating in six peacekeeping operations with both military and police personnel. Recently, together with Chile, we offered the United Nations the Cruz del Sur combined joint peacekeeping force, which, as of 2012, will be available to the United Nations standby arrangements system. Also in 2012, along with Peru, we expect to

have an engineer contingent ready to offer for deployment to the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti.

All that I have just said regarding the future of peacekeeping operations is contingent on their having adequate financing. In this regard, as Chair of the Group of 77 and China, my country has just painstakingly negotiated, in the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly, a draft resolution that reflects the consensus on the next measures to be adopted, given the need for the efforts of troop- and police-contributing countries to be met by an equivalent commitment by those countries with higher financial responsibilities. This is not merely a budgetary matter, but a political one that affects the performance and credibility of the Organization in the critical field of peacekeeping and that must therefore be duly taken into consideration when evaluating and planning any future peace mission.

My country discussed this and other matters this year in the troubled substantive session of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and in the General Assembly, and has adopted a constructive approach in this respect. The founding principle of our position is respect for national participation by the societies in which the peacekeeping missions are deployed. On this basis, Argentina favours any improvement to the missions' mechanisms that contributes to the effective discharge of their mandates and allows for better performance and conditions for the personnel deployed on the ground. In this respect, we believe that the creation of the Department of Field Support and the progressive implementation of the field support strategy are wise moves that will allow us to optimize resources and make peacekeeping more effective.

There is consensus among the Members of the Organization regarding the need to improve the United Nations capacity to carry out peacekeeping operations by strengthening the cooperative partnership that, in practice, comprises Security Council members — which design the missions' mandates — the Secretariat, the General Assembly, the host country and the troop- and police-contributing countries, which implement the mandate on the ground. In this regard, my country believes that, in order to make that partnership more efficient, it will be necessary to continue to improve communication and coordination among its members. In this context, we highlight the importance of convening the Security Council's informal meetings with the troop- and police-contributing countries sufficiently in advance of the expiration of their mandates.

Finally, I would like to point out the importance of the groups of friends in that partnership framework. The Group of Friends of Haiti, of which Argentina is a member together with other members of the Council and several countries of the region, is a clear example of the relevant role that such an informal mechanism can play. Through its participation in the drawing up of the draft resolutions renewing the mandate of the mission in Haiti, among others, the Group contributes to maintaining Member States' support of the Mission by ensuring a continuity of efforts and unity of objectives.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of the Republic of Korea.

**Mr. Kim Sook** (Republic of Korea): Before I begin, I would like to extend my deepest sympathies and condolences to the victims and families who lost lives and sustained injuries in today's terrorist attack at the United Nations offices in Abuja. The Government of the Republic of Korea condemns this attack and stands by the people of Nigeria and the United Nations during this difficult moment. At the same time, I would like to reaffirm my Government's support for continuing international efforts to eradicate terrorism around the world.

At the outset, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to you, Sir, for having organized this meaningful open debate on United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Peacekeeping operations are considered to be among the most visible areas of the United Nations. They have evolved steadily over the past six decades to successfully address diverse challenges that have arisen from various conflicts. In particular, my delegation is encouraged by the recent efforts of peacekeeping operations in Côte d'Ivoire, which have contributed to the successful democratic transition and stabilization in the region, as well as in the Sudan during the peaceful referendum procedures. However, at the same time, we must admit that there is still a long way to go to ensure greater success and harness the full potential of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

As the New Horizon non-paper depicted in 2009, the environment of peacekeeping operations has changed significantly and quickly since the landmark Brahimi report (S/2000/809) was published in 2000. Peacekeeping operations have expanded more than fivefold since 2000 in terms of numbers of personnel. Additionally, mission mandates have expanded from monitoring military ceasefires to the protection of civilians, governance, human rights, the rule of law and early peacebuilding. In this rapidly-changing landscape, new challenges have continued to surface and mandates have steadily become more difficult to discharge. In this regard, my delegation would like to make several recommendations with a view towards the overall improvement of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

First of all, there should be an enhanced effort to mobilize resources in the most efficient way while simultaneously encouraging increased support from Member States. Today, growing demand on United Nations peacekeeping operations is not met with an equivalent supply from Members States, which sometimes leads to a lack of vital resources such as military helicopters. This is a critical impediment to the overall effectiveness and safety of United Nations peacekeeping operations and personnel. In this regard, my delegation welcomes the conceptual idea of a global field support strategy laid out in the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/64/633, which is expected to contribute to a significant savings in peacekeeping operations and the full utilization of existing capacity.

Secondly, it would be desirable to examine plausible and achievable mechanisms for rapid deployment. For example, the recent case of inter-mission cooperation arrangements between the United Nations Missions in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire could be a good example to be further developed. At the same time, Member States are highly encouraged to shorten their crisis response time. With that in mind, the Government of the Republic of Korea adopted domestic legislation in 2009 that enables the deployment of standby forces on short notice.

Thirdly, it is imperative to bolster the availability, deployment and appropriateness of civilian capacities across the board. With the expansion of non-military components of peacekeeping operations, the role of civilians has become more important in key areas such as the rule of law, human rights and elections. Currently, United Nations peacekeeping employs approximately 22,000 civilians, including United Nations volunteers, who constitute 18 per cent of personnel across 16 missions. In this vein, my delegation welcomes the recommendations in the report of the Senior Advisory Group on civilian capacity in the aftermath of conflict (S/2011/85), which aims at improving international civilian capacity.

Fourthly, there should be broader coordination between the United Nations and receiving countries, and between the United Nations and regional organizations. This is particularly important when a new mission is created or an existing mission is being expanded, as mandates should be matched to the needs on the ground and there should be a clear agreement on the concept of mandates themselves. Considering that the majority of the new demands for United Nations peacekeeping operations are arising in Africa, my delegation highlights the significance of coordination efforts to strengthen the peacekeeping capacities of African countries and the African Union.

Lastly, there should be enhanced awareness that peacekeeping and peacebuilding are not separate phases. Peacekeeping alone cannot cure all the challenges facing post-conflict societies. A long-lasting peace can be achieved only when peacekeeping is transformed effectively into longer-term peacebuilding. In this regard, my delegation encourages continuity between peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions and close coordination between the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the various United Nations bodies, including the Peacebuilding Commission, in identifying the proper sequencing and prioritization of activities.

Since its first contribution in 1993, the Republic of Korea has been a strong supporter of United Nations peacekeeping operations. Today, it has around 640 troops and police in the field, which is the largest number since the Republic of Korea became a Member of the United Nations. My delegation takes this opportunity to reiterate our steadfast support for United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Before concluding, my delegation would like to extend our sincere condolences to the countries and families whose peacekeepers have made the ultimate sacrifice for the noble ideals of United Nations peacekeeping, and to reiterate our respect for those

who continue to face the risks intrinsic in this inherently difficult work.

**The President**: I give the floor to the representative of Morocco.

**Mr. Loulichki** (Morocco): I have the honour to speak on behalf the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). In so doing, I would like to condemn in the strongest terms the despicable terrorist act targeting the United Nations compound in Abuja, and to convey our deepest condolences to the people and Government of Nigeria, the United Nations and the families of the victims.

NAM expresses its appreciation for India's initiative to devote this meeting to a thematic debate that is timely and forward-looking and represents a collective-thinking exercise on the future of peacekeeping as the flagship activity of the United Nations. Let me also take this opportunity to thank His Excellency Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon for his personal participation and comprehensive briefing on the issue at hand.

Peacekeeping is dynamic in nature and has developed incrementally, evolving from classic peacekeeping operations with mandates limited to ceasefire monitoring, mostly in inter-State conflicts, into complex, multidimensional peacekeeping missions combining military, police, civilian and humanitarian components often operating in intra-State contexts. This evolution has been managed, in large part with continued adherence to the long-standing fundamental principles of United Nations peacekeeping.

The history of peacekeeping derives mainly from the fact that it remains the most cost-effective means to avert conflict and represents a genuine expression of the principle of collective security. Member States are accordingly vested with the responsibility to continue to abide by the guiding principles of United Nations peacekeeping operations. These guiding principles — the consent of the parties, the non-use of force except in self-defence and in defence of the mandate, and impartiality — constitute the ethical and moral foundations of United Nations peacekeeping. NAM also emphasizes that respect for the principles of sovereign equality, political independence, territorial integrity of all States and non-intervention must be upheld in this regard.

The Movement underscores that United Nations peacekeeping should not be used as a substitute for addressing the root causes of conflict, which should be addressed in a coherent, well planned and comprehensive manner, with relevant political, social, economic and developmental instruments. Peacekeeping cannot substitute for a comprehensive political process. The current debate on the future of peacekeeping highlights the necessity to take a bolder stance on the interaction between security and development, among other challenges.

NAM appreciates the growing acknowledgment by all of the relevance of its consistent position that peacekeeping should be provided from the outset with the required political support, sufficient human, financial and logistical resources, and clearly defined and achievable mandates and exit strategies.

NAM contributes 87 per cent of deployed personnel to United Nations peacekeeping missions, and counts among its 120 member States the majority of countries host to United Nations peacekeeping operations. Those facts, among others, entitle troop-contributing countries (TCCs) to be fully involved in the planning process and in all aspects and stages of United Nations peacekeeping operations. Since mandates are implemented in the field by troop-contributing countries, those countries should be involved as major partners from the policy formulation and decision-making process to deployment. NAM members' first-hand experience as TCCs and host countries would contribute to an objective assessment of where and when to deploy and where to strengthen, cut or draw down, with the achievement of peace and security as the main objective and indicator of the success of peacekeeping missions.

Since we now have a broad consensus on the need for better interaction with TCCs, we believe that it is time to seek innovative ways to translate intentions into actions. We look forward to engaging in a more focused debate on options for a more structured dialogue and interaction among TCCs, the Security Council and the Secretariat.

In that regard, we should strive to further enlarge the TCC base by encouraging new TCCs to engage and old TCCs to return to the fold of United Nations peacekeeping. The flagship activity of the United Nations cannot continue to be supported by only a portion of the United Nations membership. To ensure the appropriate level of response in terms of the scope and scale of peacekeeping, the entire membership

should deal with the difficulties arising from deployment in hostile environments and difficult political contexts. Furthermore, much broader sharing and contribution by all Member States would ensure unity of vision to reach our common goal of peace and security. The issue of troop cost should enjoy sustained attention.

Peacekeeping missions have become heavily mandated and under-resourced. The mismatch between mandates and resources has in turn raised the risk of United Nations peacekeeping facing overstretched capacity, coupled with the increasing demand for expanded operations, which present a strategic challenge for the United Nations. NAM stresses with concern that many deployed troops are being stretched to cover geographic areas that exceed their capacities.

NAM also stresses that the improvement of peacekeeping entails a proactive management of the logistics and support of peacekeeping missions. At the core of that challenge is the need to address the capability gaps that are well known to all. NAM regrets that enablers are still not available to critical peacekeeping missions, be they air assets, field hospitals, transport companies, night-vision devices or other critical equipment.

The peacekeeping budget has reached an all-time record of $8 billion. That shows not only that there is a diversification of tasks in field support, but also that multidimensional and integrated peacekeeping missions are more demanding in terms of financial resources, equipment and capabilities. That demonstrates the need to treat questions related to field support in a holistic way.

The 2000 Brahimi report on United Nations peacekeeping operations dwells on the sensitive issue of the scope and the limitations of the use of force. In that regard, it is worth mentioning here that the report clearly states that "force alone cannot create peace; it can only create a space in which peace can be built". (*S/2000/809, para. 3*)

Since we constantly strive to improve peacekeeping, we should at the same time be cautious in peace enforcement. The use of force in peacekeeping must under no circumstance jeopardize the strategic relation between the host country and the peacekeeping mission.

With regard to the notion of credible deterrence, NAM stresses that it is already part of peacekeeping that peacekeepers have been doing for a while when they operate under a Chapter VII mandate. In its existing form, peacekeeping is robust or firm enough to the extent allowed by the fundamental principles of peacekeeping and intended by political will, within the capability of the force and limited to the geographic jurisdiction.

The challenges of peacekeeping are well known and the fundamentals for improving this important task of the United Nations have been constantly stated by our Movement. They are, first, political will that translates into clear, realistic and achievable mandates; secondly, resources; and thirdly, capacity-building through training.

**The President**: There are still a number of speakers remaining on my list for this meeting. I therefore intend, with the concurrence of the members of the Council, to suspend the meeting until 3.30 p.m.

*The meeting was suspended at 12.45 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.6603 (Resumption 1)

# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

## 6603rd meeting

Friday, 26 August 2011, 3.30 p.m.
New York

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|---|---|---|
| *President:* | Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri | (India) |
| *Members:* | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mr. Durmić |
| | Brazil | Mr. Vargas |
| | China | Mr. Zhang Changwei |
| | Colombia | Mr. Buitrago |
| | France | Mr. Jaillon |
| | Gabon | Mr. Onanga Ndiaye |
| | Germany | Ms. Sommer |
| | Lebanon | Mr. Khachab |
| | Nigeria | Mr. Onowu |
| | Portugal | Mr. Cabral |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Demin |
| | South Africa | Mr. Govender |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Mrs. Weekley |
| | United States of America | Mr. Banks |

## Agenda

United Nations peacekeeping operations

Peacekeeping: taking stock and preparing for the future

Letter dated 5 August 2011 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2011/496)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

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*The meeting resumed at 3.35 p.m.*

**The President**: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Azerbaijan. In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative to participate in this meeting.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than four minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously.

I shall now give the floor to the representative of Australia.

**Ms. King** (Australia): At the outset, I would like to join the others who have spoken today in expressing Australia's condemnation of the attack on the United Nations compound in Abuja overnight. This is the starkest reminder of the risks faced by United Nations personnel working in the cause of peace, stability and development. Any attack on the United Nations is an attack on all of us. I would like to express our deep sympathies to the families, friends and colleagues of those affected, and of course to the Government and people of Nigeria.

Australia welcomes the opportunity to address the Council on the topic of peacekeeping operations, and we thank India for convening this debate.

Peacekeeping remains at the core of the United Nations. It is the most critical and highly visible measure by which the Organization is judged. We would like to limit our remarks to three issues.

First, regular consultations with troop-contributing countries and police-contributing countries are an important mechanism to ensure that peacekeeping mandates are informed by concrete knowledge of ground realities and that expectations are realistic and well understood. Consultative meetings need to be structured, with advance notice of their scheduling. We welcome the initiatives outlined in today's presidential statement (S/PRST/2011/17) to improve those processes.

We also believe it is critical that a range of stakeholders are consulted in the development of mandates and throughout the life cycle of a mission. Informal mission-specific groups can play an important role. Australia has been pleased to be a part of the Core Group on Timor-Leste, which continues to provide suggestions regarding support to the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste and to serve as a useful forum for consultation with stakeholders.

Secondly, it is important that peacekeeping missions are provided with the necessary resources and capabilities to take forward their complex roles. Today's missions need the resources and capabilities to deal with twenty-first century challenges and mandates. We need further analysis of different capabilities that can improve missions' effectiveness. Critical enablers, such as communication tools and analytical capabilities, can improve situational awareness, assist with the development of early-warning capacities and act as force multipliers. Aviation assets can provide critical mobility, along with firepower, but are often in short supply. We welcome work under way to examine helicopter force generation challenges.

Of course, the most valuable resource a peacekeeping mission has is its people and their skills. Efforts underway within the United Nations to develop baseline capability standards for infantry battalions, staff officers and medical support units are an important step towards ensuring that peacekeepers are better prepared and equipped. Timely information on existing capability gaps would assist in ensuring there is a coordinated and targeted approach to capacity-building. We look forward to the outcomes of the impact assessment of the capability gap lists.

Many speakers this morning emphasized the important linkages between peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Australia's own recent experience with peace and security operations in our own region — including in Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands — has placed a premium on the early transition to peacebuilding, which we all recognize is the only way to prevent societies coming out of conflict from sliding quickly back into conflict. Early peacebuilding efforts require the early deployment of qualified civilian personnel. We look forward to the forthcoming report of the Secretary-General on the civilian capacity review.

Bilateral and multilateral partnerships are an important part of capacity-building for peacekeepers. Australia seeks to share its peacekeeping experiences through capacity-building and training. Our civilians, police and armed forces work with our neighbours and

our partners, including our partners in the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands, to build police and military peacekeeping skills.

Our final point relates to providing clarity in relation to expectations of peacekeepers' roles on the ground. Peacekeepers are faced with tough decisions, particularly when it comes to carrying out mandates to protect civilians. For this reason, Australia has been a strong advocate for specific protection-of-civilians training and guidance. The development of pre-deployment training modules, which include scenario-based training tools, is a welcome step toward addressing some of the uncertainties that peacekeepers face in undertaking their duties. We encourage the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to deliver those training modules to Member States and the field as soon as possible.

We believe these tools can be further supported through guidance for uniformed personnel on the protection of civilians.

Military personnel in particular can have important responsibilities when it comes to the physical protection of civilians and other peacekeeping personnel, which can require them to use force. We look forward to the development of guidance on the use of force, and have been pleased to support regional conferences on that issue.

Australia believes that it is only through consultation and burden-sharing on the part of all parties that the peacekeeping partnership can retain its strength and ability to address new challenges.

In conclusion, we would like to acknowledge once again the service of the men and women deployed to peace operations who are taking forward the vital work of maintaining peace and security on the ground for communities affected by conflict.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Pakistan.

**Mr. Tarar** (Pakistan): Let me begin by expressing Pakistan's condemnation of the dastardly terrorist act in Abuja. We offer our deepest condolences and commiseration to the bereaved families, the Government and people of Nigeria and all members of our United Nations family.

The Pakistan delegation congratulates you, Mr. President, on your able steering of the work of the Security Council this month and for convening this very important open debate today. Your concept paper (S/2011/496, annex) has flagged important issues relevant to the subject and set precise parameters for a productive debate.

We align ourselves with the statement delivered by the Permanent Representative of Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Unlike any other mechanism for maintaining international peace and security, United Nations peacekeeping enjoys universal acclaim, cost-effectiveness and professional precision. An indispensable tool in the hands of the Organization for maintaining international peace, peacekeeping offers us hope amid violence and conflict.

The success of United Nations peacekeeping in recent years is the fruit of the concerted interplay between the Member States, with their faith in and commitment to peacekeeping; the troop-contributing countries (TCCs), with their provision of specialized and trained manpower for areas of conflict and war; and the United Nations Secretariat, with its overall coordination and field support. Our collective interests would be best served by building synergy.

The success of United Nations peacekeeping has raised expectations for maintaining the trajectory of past achievements in the face of ever-changing political, operational and security environments. Consequently, increasingly complex and multidimensional peacekeeping mandates are being laid down to address diverse and volatile conflict situations. At least 13 peacekeeping missions are currently undertaking complex and multidimensional peacekeeping mandates, and the number is set to grow.

Complex peacekeeping mandates are now a norm, not an exception, and implementing them is challenging, due to at least three underlying factors. First, they involve important legal questions, particularly on varying interpretations of the United Nations Charter, State sovereignty, international humanitarian law, and so forth. Secondly, the operational challenges of peacekeeping have been exacerbated by the prevailing financial and resource constraints felt by the entire peacekeeping architecture. Thirdly, an agreed narrative has yet to develop on achieving a seamless transition from a peacekeeping environment to an exit phase, focusing on, among other

aspects, the settlement of disputes and peacebuilding strategies.

Pakistan believes that the guiding principle for meeting those challenges and ensuring the long-term success of peacekeeping operations must be adherence to the United Nations Charter and the concept of collective security. The Charter gives legitimacy to United Nations peacekeeping. Respect for the Charter and judicious interpretation of its provisions are essential for maintaining the credibility and neutrality of peacekeeping operations. This cannot and must not be compromised on the altar of political expediency. Recent events have proved that peace operations conducted unilaterally or by different coalitions are poor and costly substitutes for United Nations peacekeeping.

The question of resource gaps is also a central challenge for existing and future missions alike. Despite their scope and extent, United Nations peacekeeping operations are largely underfunded and underresourced. In many missions, the scarcity of troops and vital resources remains a critical issue, threatening the Organization's ability to operate effectively and safely. While expenses and remuneration for other United Nations activities are adjusted for inflation and cost-of-living fluctuations, peacekeepers are expected to work at fixed and archaic rates.

It is no longer sustainable for TCCs to subsidize United Nations peacekeeping, and the recent report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (A/65/19) highlights this sustainability factor. In that regard, the progress made by the Fifth Committee in the last session will remain a temporary, stop-gap measure if it is not backed by an institutional mechanism for regular review of troop costs.

The third major challenge, concerning exit strategies and seamless transitions to long-term peacebuilding, also merits close consideration. We believe that it is essential to dovetail such strategies with the broader objectives of a peacekeeping mission. Early investment in national institution-building, together with the peaceful settlement of underlying disputes, can only facilitate sustainable peace and avoid relapses into conflict.

The role of peacekeepers in the early stages of peacebuilding is crucial, especially in the areas of combating organized crime, supporting local law enforcement, medical outreach, epidemic control, managing refugees and assisting humanitarian relief efforts. However, the delicate and multidimensional peacebuilding process requires civil expertise and a focus on improving local capacity, political dialogue and institution-building. The Peacebuilding Commission, with its unique composition, is better placed to contribute to developing such cross-sectional synergies.

For clear, realistic and achievable mandates, greater understanding is required between the sanitized confines of the Security Council, where mandates are written, and the dusty fields of the conflict zones, where those mandates are implemented. It warrants regular consultations among the Security Council, the TCCs, and the Secretariat. Such consultations with TCCs can be held informally and more frequently, not just within the Council's Working Group on Peacekeeping.

Greater emphasis on inclusiveness is essential at all stages of peacekeeping missions, including in the formulation and review of peacekeeping mandates. Similarly, the evolution of United Nations peacekeeping from its traditional form to more complex mandates is driving the discourse on peacekeeping reforms, which, like other aspects of peacekeeping, must also remain transparent and unpoliticized.

We hope that today's open debate will enrich the discourse on modern-day peacekeeping and its future challenges with the objectivity that the subject deserves.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Indonesia.

**Mr. Kleib** (Indonesia): Let me begin by joining previous speakers and the Secretary-General in condemning the heinous act of terror on the United Nations building in Abuja. We wish to express our solidarity and sympathy with the people and Government of Nigeria, and we extend our sincere condolences to the victims and their families.

My delegation wishes to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting, as well as for the excellent non-paper (S/2011/496, annex) reflecting many of the vital challenges that face United Nations peacekeeping. We also thank the Secretary-General for his valuable remarks.

Indonesia associates itself with the statement delivered by Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

We do indeed take comfort in witnessing the cessation of conflict in some countries and their progress in steady rebuilding and reconstruction. The role and contribution of the United Nations and the international community in their progress are exceptional, and the Security Council has been determined and decisive in that regard.

The experience of all those conflicts reaffirms the critical importance of peacekeeping operations in fulfilling the Council's primary responsibility for saving humankind from the scourge of war. We believe that the continuing importance of peacekeeping missions should be duly recognized. We therefore reiterate our full support for the Council's increased recognition of United Nations peacekeeping as a global partnership that draws on the contributions of troop- and police-contributing countries, the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretariat, not to mention the host country.

As this is a collective endeavour, all stakeholders need to be on the same page with a sense of common purpose in order to effectively address the challenges. United Nations peacekeeping must also continue to be clearly and firmly based on three basic principles, namely, the interests of the parties concerned; impartiality; and the non-use of force except in self-defence and in defence of the Security Council mandate.

As missions have become increasingly multidimensional, complex and highly risky in some theatres, our responsibility to provide explicitly clear guidelines to Blue Helmets, along with the necessary equipment, training and resources, has also become more pronounced.

The political, human, financial, logistic and information resources necessary to achieve the mission's mandate can be mobilized and sustained only through continuous efforts to strengthen consultation and coordination among our stakeholders. In this regard, the views of troop- and police-contributing countries are critical, and they, along with the host country, should be more frequently and meaningfully consulted.

The question of resources, as highlighted in the concept paper (S/2011/496, annex), indeed remains vital. A lack of required resources could not only impinge on the safety and security of peacekeepers, but could also affect peacekeepers' mandated capacities to safeguard populations. To undertake the noble goal of the protection of civilians, which my delegation fully supports, adequate capabilities must be provided, along with clear mission goals, in order to enhance the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations.

However, peacekeeping alone will remain insufficient if our goal is to achieve sustainable peace. A comprehensive approach that includes tackling root causes and conducting peacemaking is often the key to sustainable peace. Post-conflict peacebuilding is therefore vital to helping war-torn societies transition to durable peace. In that regard, the role of the Peacebuilding Commission is of paramount importance. In that context, we commend the Security Council's focus over the past two years on the nexus between peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Furthermore, it is important that skilled and culturally aware civilian experts, especially from the global South, be deployed in a timely manner in areas in which expertise is required by the host countries.

Peacekeeping is one of the important elements of Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia has participated actively in United Nations peacekeeping operations since 1956, and is presently contributing to six peacekeeping operations around the world. Indonesia will continue its contribution and increase its participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Let me conclude by reiterating the importance for the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, and the international community to not only ensure the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations, but also to tackle the root causes of disputes and conflicts at the earliest stage in a well-planned, coherent, coordinated and comprehensive manner, in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Senegal.

**Mr. Diallo** (Senegal) (*spoke in French*): We were dismayed to learn of the cowardly attack on the United Nations office in Abuja, Nigeria, which has led to numerous deaths. In this sorrowful context, I should

like, on behalf of the Government of Senegal, to condemn this indescribable act, whoever was responsible and whatever their motives may have been. I convey my sincere condolences to the families of the victims, to the people and the Government of Nigeria, and to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. This horrendous event serves as a reminder — if one were necessary — of the need for the international community to fight without concession against all manners of extremism.

Mr. President, your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council is a cause of genuine satisfaction for my delegation because of both your personal qualities and the excellent relations between your country and mine. Allow me, therefore, to extend my warmest congratulations to you and to express my sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Wittig, Permanent Representative of Germany, for his valuable work last month.

For my country, peacekeeping remains one of the most important and sensitive tasks of the United Nations. It is an integral part of the collective obligation of the international community under the Charter of the United Nations, which confers upon the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Overall, peacekeeping operations have rewarded us with significant results, and today more than ever the world has a great need for these men and women — soldiers, paramilitary and civilians — who serve the most worthwhile cause: the cause of peace. My country therefore pays a glowing tribute to the professionalism and remarkable courage of the United Nations Blue Helmets and to salute the memory of those who have fallen over the past 60 years in the service of peace.

Senegal has participated in United Nations peacekeeping operations since 1960 and has certainly paid a heavy price, in particular in terms of human lives. Like other peace-loving nations, my country has nevertheless accepted that consequence as proof of its unwavering commitment to the ideals of the United Nations.

That is why we are convinced that the launching of a peacekeeping operation must follow a number of parameters, starting with a clear and precise definition of the mandate, its objectives and the tasks to be undertaken. Furthermore, good planning is needed that includes regular dialogue among the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries, along with an effective awareness-raising campaign on the desired objectives.

The success of a peacekeeping operation also involves the use of qualified, integrated and well-equipped personnel who are willing to respect the traditions and customs of the area of operation. The provision of the necessary equipment and adequate and predictable funding are two other major challenges. However, given that the financial problems faced by the United Nations are essentially due to the non-payment of contributions by Member States, it is necessary to consider more predictable funding sources, along with the critical financial involvement of voluntary contributors, especially from the developed countries.

The United Nations must continue its peacekeeping capacity-building activities by coordinating the needs and resources of the United Nations standby arrangements system as part of a partnership among the troop-contributing Member States and those countries that are able to provide the appropriate equipment to deter belligerent forces. In the same vein, the establishment at Member State level of specialized peacekeeping reserve forces would enable a rapid and effective deployment whenever it is needed, especially in situations with a high risk of violence, thereby undoubtedly preventing tragedy or genocide. Likewise, strengthened collaboration between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations would be desirable to consolidate their conflict resolution mechanisms.

In this regard, my delegation stresses the need to strengthen quantitatively and qualitatively the conflict prevention, mediation and peacekeeping capacities of the African Union. Moreover, the establishment of a strengthened partnership with the African Union could improve the planning, deployment and management of African peacekeeping operations and contribute to peace and security on our continent.

The difficulties that characterize peacekeeping operations highlight the need to address the root causes of current crises in order to limit their number and consequences. To do that, we need a coherent, planned, coordinated and comprehensive action able to implement all the policy, social and development tools intended to reduce tensions, many of which stem

directly from the rivalry among human groups for survival.

Along the same lines, in some fragile States, following a peacekeeping operation it would be wise to emphasize the need to promptly implement coherent development policies in order to support the democratic processes under way and to create propitious conditions for a world order based on a spirit of partnership and solidarity. In that regard we should finally integrate preventive diplomacy, which through the institution of early warning systems could be of great interest in neutralizing some conflicts at the first signs.

Ultimately, if we want greater satisfaction in future we must, while addressing the root causes of some conflicts, combine diligence in the management of peacekeeping operations with the rigor required by preventive diplomacy and developmental tasks. The task is heavy, but our will and determination are equally strong.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Japan.

**Mr. Kodama** (Japan): Before delivering my statement, I too want to join previous speakers by extending Japan's deepest condolences and sympathies to the victims of the outrageous bombing of the United Nations building in the Nigerian capital and to their bereaved families. Japan condemns in the strongest terms such heinous acts, particularly directed against those brave men and women.

At the outset, I would like to welcome your initiative, Sir, to convene this open debate on the critical issue of United Nations peacekeeping operations. Japan shares the views presented and concerns raised in the concept paper prepared by the Indian presidency (S/2011/496, annex). Japan has worked vigorously on many issues pertaining to United Nations peacekeeping operations in its capacity as Chair of the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations for the terms 2005-2006 and 2009-2010. It is our view that triangular cooperation among the Council, the Secretariat, troop-contributing countries (TCCs), police-contributing countries (PCCs) and other stakeholders is the fundamental key to the success of current peacekeeping operations, which have become more complex and multidimensional in recent years.

Throughout the course of its chairmanship of the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, Japan made efforts to establish a customary practice of the Council to hold consultations with TCCs, PCCs and other stakeholders at the time of the creation, modification or extension of a peacekeeping mandate, at least one week prior to the mandate's adoption. In parallel with this, the Working Group devoted several meetings to and had serious discussions on the issue of capability gaps, including the critical shortage of military utility helicopters in several peacekeeping missions. I would like to make my statement based on these experiences.

With regard to the capability gap, Japan concurs with the view set out in the concept paper that this issue is an inevitable difficulty arising when the Security Council translates its will into deeds on the ground. It goes without saying that we must try to minimize the gap, but the challenge is always how to do so.

While the international community cannot abandon its responsibility to protect civilians in need, no matter how difficult the task may be, the resources needed to fulfil such mandates are not likely to become immediately available. Japan highly appreciates, in this regard, the continuing efforts of the Secretariat to develop, disseminate and update the gap list, which have greatly helped us to recognize and understand the existence of gaps. With that as a foundation, it is now high time for us all to take further steps to elaborate on the causes of gaps and the difficulty we have in filling them.

As regards the triangular cooperation among the Council, the Secretariat, TCCs, PCCs and other stakeholders, Japan would like to reiterate its importance not only for the purpose of improving the quality of United Nations peacekeeping operations, but also from the point of view of the transparency of the activities of the Council. We have made significant progress by holding dialogues with the force commanders of various missions in the Council as well as in the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C-34).

The meetings with TCCs, PCCs and other stakeholders are intended to enhance the understanding of the Council through the first-hand views of TCCs, PCCs and other stakeholders, so that peacekeeping mandates may appropriately reflect the reality on the

ground in the form of a resolution. It is perfectly reasonable that such meetings be held at least one week before the adoption of the relevant Council resolution, which was not the normal practice several years ago. As to the quality of the discussion in those meetings, however, it must be said that it is not necessarily action-oriented. The meetings generally take the form of briefings from the Secretariat followed by a few questions and answers. Japan strongly recommends that TCC and PCC meetings be aimed at solving concrete problems through practical and concrete discussions.

To that end, Japan calls for the Council, TCCs, PCCs and other stakeholders to act. The responsibility in this regard lies first and foremost with the Council. The Council is the only body with the power and responsibility, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to adopt resolutions and apply force to realize its intention to maintain international peace and security.

Over the past two decades, the Council has been successful in adjusting to a drastically changing world by transforming peacekeeping operations appropriately. However, some of the critical shortfalls currently occurring in missions have the potential to cause serious damage to the credibility of the Council. In order to avoid such an outcome and fulfil its duty more proactively, the Council should clarify and explain what exactly are the issues and points to be amended in the mandate, so that peacekeepers on the ground may conduct their work more efficiently and effectively.

Japan would like to stress the important role and responsibility of the Council, and therefore recommends that agendas and points of discussion of the meetings be clearly set sufficiently in advance of the meeting date.

Security Council obligations notwithstanding, responsibility for this issue does not rest with the Council alone. The TCCs, PCCs and other stakeholders should be strongly encouraged to share their first-hand experience and awareness to the problems on the ground. In this regard, Japan also concurs with the proposal in the concept note. At the same time, my delegation intends to continue its outreach regarding this important issue in the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations and the C34.

In conclusion, Japan would like to highlight the fact that United Nations peacekeeping operations have come to entail increasingly complex and interlinked situations. Thus, further cooperation and coordination among the Council, the General Assembly, the Member States and the Secretariat are required. It is now time for all United Nations peacekeeping actors to enhance their efforts in order to respond to the high expectations of the international community.

**The President**: I call on the representative of Uruguay.

**Mr. Ceriani** (Uruguay) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish to convey the sincerest condolences of my country to the people and Government of Nigeria and the United Nations family for the reprehensible attack suffered in Abuja.

We thank the presidency of the Security Council for having organized this open debate and the Secretary-General for his introductory remarks.

Peacekeeping operations have become a fundamental and distinctive component of one of the noblest tasks carried out by this Organization — the maintenance of peace in the world. Keeping the peace is a joint undertaking of the membership as a whole, but, without prejudice to the efforts of any party, it is primarily a task carried out by the troops and police of contributing countries, which, in keeping with their commitment to the principles and values enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, make their police and armed forces available.

In this sense, we must not underestimate the importance of broad-based support among all Member States for the mandates adopted by the Council, in particular taking into account the characteristics of the complex tasks that it has begun to mandate, such as the protection of civilians in immediate physical danger. This would not only lend greater legitimacy and reduce resistance to the implementation of these activities, but also generate greater commitment among all stakeholders involved in implementation.

With regard to cooperation with troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries, over the past two years we have seen positive signs in several areas. These include greater consultation between the Security Council and troop- and police-contributing countries; greater interaction between the Secretariat and the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations; and the active involvement of TCCs in various consultation forums both at

Headquarters and in the field, demonstrating great flexibility to adapt to the complex scenarios and tasks assigned.

While all of this represents progress compared to the situation a little more than one year ago, it is not sufficient for the global alliance that is required to provide comprehensive and effective responses to the challenges facing peacekeeping to be solid and sustainable. A genuine spirit of involvement cannot be built simply by endorsing or rejecting ideas without discussion; it must also include improved participation in the building of agreements.

In this regard, we welcome the deepening and strengthening of activities such as the holding of timely meetings with TCCs prior to the renewal of mandates, pursuant to resolution 1353 (2001). We see ample room for improvement in this area, both in New York and in the missions.

Our experience has shown that informal mechanisms have been much more productive. First of all, we underscore the case of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, in which the existence of an active informal coalition of countries that are closely involved with and committed to the success of the Mission makes a decisive contribution to ensuring that the leading TCCs on the ground can participate directly and substantively in the most relevant discussions on the development of this peacekeeping operation, including on mandate extension.

Secondly, we find the triangular exchanges among the TCCs, the Council and the Secretariat in the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations to be extremely useful from a practical point of view. I take this opportunity to commend the efforts of the delegation of Nigeria as Chair of the Working Group, not to mention our gratitude to Japan for the enormous work it carried out in 2009 and 2010. Such interaction is valuable if carried out in a frank and open way — not as an opportunity to express dissatisfaction but as a constructive exercise to avert threats, correct weaknesses, promote strengths and take advantage of opportunities.

Turning to the issue of capacities, we believe that missions as complex as those demanding our greatest attention today cannot be sustainable without serious consideration of the resources needed for their adequate functioning and without updating the conditions offered by the system for making human and material resources available to the United Nations. That issue particularly affects developing countries, which provide the great majority of troops, since it influences the viability of their participation in peacekeeping operations.

To conclude, I would like to state that this year we are seeing tough and extensive negotiations within the framework of the Working Group on Contingent-Owned Equipment and in the second resumed session of the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly in order to approve the budget for peacekeeping operations. We must express our satisfaction that in both cases an increase was ultimately achieved, which, while modest, will certainly be preserved, extended and periodically updated, even if through General Assembly resolution 63/285, by a working group or another mechanism, so as not to put at risk the participation of TCCs in the important undertaking of maintaining peace in the world.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Slovenia.

**Ms. Leskovar** (Slovenia): At the outset, I would like to join others and express my Government's strong condemnation of today's heinous attacks on United Nations House in Abuja. We would like to convey our deepest sympathies and sincere condolences to the people and Government of Nigeria, the whole United Nations family and, in particular, the families and friends of the victims.

Slovenia would like to express its appreciation to the Indian presidency of the Security Council for organizing today's open debate on the issue of peacekeeping and to commend it for the invaluable role that India plays as one of the leading troop contributors in this respect. We would like to thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon for his remarks. At the same time, we also wish to take this opportunity to thank former Under-Secretary-General Alain Le Roy for his vision, courage and determination during a period of extraordinary challenges for the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), which he has led so skilfully over the past three years.

Slovenia fully aligns itself with the statement to be delivered on behalf of the European Union.

Peacekeeping, which was not foreseen in the Charter of the United Nations — as the useful concept note (S/2011/496, annex) that India drafted for this

meeting reminds us — has developed into a flagship activity of the United Nations. Over the past decades, we have witnessed the changing character of peacekeeping.

Today, peacekeepers work in extremely difficult conditions, often risking their lives. At times they have a nearly impossible mission, trying to maintain peace between warring factions with no peace agreement in place, without adequate numbers, with insufficient training and inadequate equipment, and lacking the quality of leadership and civilian expertise that they require.

Yet we should give United Nations forces great credit for providing security to war-torn countries and for assisting people whose livelihoods have been washed away by floods or ruined by deadly earthquakes. The presence of the United Nations on the ground helps to prevent the escalation of confrontations and paves the way for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Peacekeepers save and protect the lives of millions of civilians and provide much-needed order, stability and hope.

Peacekeeping operations are the expression of a global partnership and the international community's commitment. We strongly commend the dedication of the United Nations soldiers, police officers and civilian and aid workers who do the hard work, facing danger around the world. As we mark the eighth anniversary of the Canal Hotel bombing, we should pay tribute and never forget the sacrifice of those who gave their lives to help save others.

As the complexity of peacekeeping operations has increased over the years, we must all join forces to ensure that United Nations peacekeeping adapts and adjusts to meet new and emerging challenges. At the same time, it is expected that the demands of individual United Nations peacekeeping missions will further grow. Building on the progress achieved by the Brahimi report (S/2000/809), launched 11 years ago, and the recent New Horizon Initiative, we need to pursue reforms that will make current and future operations more effective.

Peacekeeping missions require clear mandates. Peacekeepers deserve practical and updated guidance based on lessons learned. Such guidance would enable them to implement their mandates to protect civilians effectively and would provide better support to host Governments, which bear the primary responsibility for protecting their citizens. Such clear guidance will also help them to use appropriate tactics when facing various threats and challenges on the ground.

However, that is the task of all mission components, not uniformed personnel alone. Therefore, closer interaction among the military, police and civilian dimensions of missions is essential, as it could facilitate efficient strategies for the essential peacebuilding role that peacekeepers play in contemporary operations. Peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding are tools that should be deployed in an integrated fashion. We must continue to evolve towards a more flexible architecture of response that allows us to customize our assistance to the immediate and real needs on the ground.

Slovenia would like to emphasize the significance of the civilian capacity review and its wide-ranging recommendations aimed at strengthening international civilian support for post-conflict countries. We have to make better use of the capacity of regional and subregional organizations and further strengthen the United Nations partnership with them. We must seize the political momentum generated by the 2010 Peacebuilding Commission review (S/2010/393, annex), empower the Commission and the Peacebuilding Fund, and promote greater coherence among the many components of the United Nations system that make up the peacebuilding mosaic.

The challenging mandates assigned to peacekeeping missions require appropriate resources and adequate equipment to be implemented effectively. As regards the planning and monitoring of peacekeeping missions, we believe there is still room for the further strengthening of the planning and assessment process, particularly by increasing the involvement of those countries contributing their forces.

Slovenia welcomes regular communication among the Security Council, the troop- and police-contributing countries, the Secretariat and other stakeholders and encourages even more cooperation. Likewise, we support the proposal of even more frequent briefings by Force Commanders.

In implementing the global field support strategy, which was designed to provide more predictable, secure and flexible logistic support to contingents on the ground, we must take into account the advice of our women and men serving in the missions. That becomes

increasingly important in the wake of the global financial and economic crisis, which constraints all national budgets.

The Blue Helmets have recorded many achievements in the past and recently, and United Nations peacekeepers deserve greater recognition for their service in Liberia, East Timor, Haiti, Lebanon, the Sudan and Côte d'Ivoire, to mention just a few examples. In Côte d'Ivoire, without the presence of the United Nations operation, the post-election violence earlier this year would have been much worse. In the Sudan, the United Nations mission played a crucial role in making the peaceful referendum on the self-determination of South Sudan possible. However, disturbing reports from Southern Kordofan, especially regarding the deliberate attacks and other gross violations against the innocent Nuba people, should be of strong concern to the international community.

Slovenia celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its independence two months ago. Next May, two decades will have passed since our country of 2 million people became a United Nations Member. Recognizing the importance of peacekeeping, Slovenia began contributing servicemen to United Nations operations immediately after joining the Organization. Since then, more than 5,000 Slovenian peacekeepers have been deployed to United Nations peacekeeping operations around the world as a demonstration of our unwavering commitment to the maintenance of international peace and security.

My delegation would also like to highlight the important role of women in peace and security. The integration of the gender perspective in all stages and sectors of peacekeeping and peace-related activities is of vital importance to the successful outcome of peacekeeping efforts. We commend the DPKO and contributing Member States for their dedication to gender mainstreaming and we encourage them to continue to promote the cause of women. Those efforts must be accompanied by increased protection of the most vulnerable — girls and women — especially from sexual violence. Slovenia strongly supports the measures taken to establish and implement a zero-tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and abuse. We call on all peacekeeping personnel to act in full compliance with that policy.

Let me close by saying that we must also expand our work on conflict prevention, in particular to improve our ability to read the warning signs and trigger early action. We believe that, in an increasingly interdependent and complex world, every country has to bear its share of global responsibility. Slovenia stands ready to assume its share and to engage even more in the maintenance of international peace and security, fully, fairly and without delay.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Peru.

**Mr. Gutiérrez** (Peru) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me to take a few moments to share the communiqué just issued by the Peruvian Foreign Office regarding the recent events in Nigeria. It indicates that Peru firmly condemns the car-bomb attack on the United Nations facility in Abuja, Nigeria. Criminal acts like that of today, which caused the deaths of nearly 20 people, cannot be tolerated, particularly when they target United Nations staff, working devotedly day-in and day-out for international peace and development. Expressing its solidarity with the victims, their families and the United Nations, the Government of Peru urges the relevant authorities to do everything in their power to bring to justice those responsible for such a heinous crime.

Regarding the matter before us today, my delegation would like to thank you, Sir, for having convened and organized this debate, offering us the opportunity to speak on a matter to which Peru is deeply committed. We are also grateful for the concept paper from the President of the Council (S/2011/496, annex). We also join in the thanks expressed to the Secretary-General for his contribution to today's debate.

As indicated in the concept paper prepared by the delegation of India, peacekeeping operations have become a core instrument of the Organization in fulfilling its primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. These are multidimensional operations involving military, civilian and police personnel. We have accordingly seen an increase in their number, in the diversity of the tasks assigned to them, and in the risks they face. Yet the resources allocated to them have not increased proportionately to their tasks and the risks they face. That is why this debate is important to preparing for the future of peacekeeping operations.

That involves not just the provision of appropriate human, logistic and financial resources, but

also the harmonization of operational concepts to establish clear guidelines and procedures. Such preparation is of the greatest importance, and my delegation believes that we are very far behind in providing for the needs of the peacekeeping operations.

I believe it is important to emphasize the participation of the troop- and police-contributing countries. Peru is of the opinion that we need close interaction and greater understanding among the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries so that clear, realistic and achievable mandates can be drawn up and available resources used most efficiently. As recommended by the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in its most recent report (A/65/19), there must be full consultations with troop- and police-contributing countries so that they can participate from the outset in all aspects and stages of peacekeeping operations, especially when changes are made to the mandates of missions. That is important in allowing lessons learned to be assimilated and the experience and technical knowledge of the troop- and police-contributing countries to be brought to bear on the planning and organizing of the missions through a triangular cooperation.

As early as 2000, the Brahimo report (S/2000/809) identified the most pressing challenges to be faced and noted that the keys to the success of a multidimensional mission are the commitment and political support of the parties involved, rapid and effective deployment with enhanced capacity, and a peacebuilding strategy. Although we have made progress on those elements, much still remains to be done, particularly given the changing international context and the fact that mandates are increasingly complex and sensitive, as are the basic principles of action for peacekeeping operations.

We have to ask whether we are meeting these requirements when we draw up the mandates for peacekeeping operations — for example, when they are entrusted with the task of protecting civilians — or when a full assessment is made of the circumstances and capacity to deter and respond in legitimate self-defence or in defence of the mandate.

In resolution 1894 (2009), the Security Council reaffirmed its practice of drawing up reference parameters to evaluate the progress of the implementation of peacekeeping mission mandates, including protection of civilians mandates. Such parameters, along with the guidelines and strategic frameworks being drawn up in various areas, are important elements, and we must work still harder to achieve a consensus that can be reflected in operations in the field.

It is similarly important to recall that the majority of peacekeeping operations carry out the earliest peacebuilding operations. In September 2010, 10 of the 16 peacekeeping operations had mandates covering a wide variety of peacebuilding operations, including the direct implementation of such tasks by mission personnel. That reveals the links and interactive dynamic among achieving, maintaining and building peace. Those aspects must therefore be provided for in the mandates and resources allocated to peacekeeping operations.

In concluding, I wish to underscore the importance Peru attributes to preventive diplomacy in peacekeeping operations and in the Peacebuilding Commission. It is of the greatest importance that we develop and implement measures that will permit us to prevent conflict and reduce the risk of conflict flaring up or recurring. The Secretary-General has reiterated that point on many occasions, as did the Brahimi report; the presidency of the Council reiterated it in July. There remains an urgent need to establish strategies and an effective system for conflict prevention in the long term. That will require a holistic approach, taking into account the relational dynamic between security and development — an integrated, coherent approach to the work of achieving, keeping and building peace.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Malaysia.

**Mr. Haniff** (Malaysia): At the outset, allow me to thank you, Mr. President, for having organized this debate today. It comes at a time when the United Nations is facing multiple challenges in its peacekeeping operations all over the world.

My delegation wishes to align itself with the statement made by the representative of Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his participation in and contribution to this debate.

Malaysia joins other delegations in condemning the terrorist attack on the United Nations office in

Abuja, Nigeria, this morning, and wishes to offer our condolences to the families of the victims.

Malaysia's involvement in United Nations peacekeeping operations began as early as 1960, only three years after we became independent, with our participation in the United Nations Operation in the Congo. To date, Malaysia has participated in 24 United Nations peacekeeping operations around the world, and in NATO-led operations. That record clearly reflects Malaysia's firm commitment to and belief in the central role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security, and its conviction that United Nations peacekeeping operations are an indispensable instrument that has contributed immensely to the resolution of many armed conflicts, both within and among States.

It is for those reasons that Malaysia currently has a total of 1,151 military and police personnel serving in various capacities in seven peacekeeping missions. We also recognize the significant on-the-job experience gained by Malaysian Armed Forces personnel through their participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations. The opportunity to operate in an international environment with forces from other Member States, exposed to different doctrines and geographic terrain, provides valuable lessons for Malaysia's troops. That international exposure has contributed to enhancing the professionalism of Malaysian Armed Forces personnel.

In that connection, my delegation fully supports the various initiatives of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support aimed at further improving the quality, effectiveness and efficiency of peacekeeping operations and the well-being of United Nations peacekeepers and staff members. Nevertheless, there is still room for improvement, including by enhancing transparency in the work of these two important Departments.

In light of the many challenges confronting United Nations peacekeeping operations, we see the importance of being clear on the mandate concerning the protection of civilians in regions affected by armed conflict. That mandate is necessary in order to prevent the unnecessary loss of innocent lives. But the international community must be reminded that the principal responsibility to protect civilians still lies with national Governments. More importantly, United Nations peacekeepers mandated to protect civilians in regions affected by armed conflict must be guided by the principle of impartiality in discharging their duties.

In that regard, Malaysia is concerned about the gaps in implementing mandates for the protection of civilians — a concern that has recently been echoed by some force commanders. Malaysia therefore reiterates that the Security Council should ensure that mandates on the protection of civilians must be clear and precise, and that missions must also be provided with the required key enablers in order to implement the mandated tasks effectively and efficiently.

My delegation is also aware that there are resource gaps in peacekeeping missions. I urge that the funds represented by an annual budget of $8 billion be utilized in a more efficient and transparent manner, and that countries with the ability to contribute more not shy away from providing more resources. While the Secretariat has launched the global field support strategy in order to address these issues, my delegation appeals to those countries that have the means to continue to contribute generously to the much-needed key enablers in order to allow peacekeepers to conduct their work successfully.

By the same token, we also wish to express our concern about the safety and security of United Nations peacekeepers globally, given the rising numbers of casualties in recent months. We are also concerned about delays in the evacuation of wounded peacekeepers, as witnessed recently. Such delays can lead to the loss of precious lives. My delegation therefore urges the relevant authorities to facilitate quick and uninterrupted medical evacuation and access to medical care for wounded peacekeepers, who have made sacrifices to bring peace and stability to the world.

Malaysia is encouraged by the important role that peacekeeping missions play in the process of peacebuilding. Time and again, peacekeepers are referred to as "early peacebuilders". In that regard, Malaysia will continue to uphold its commitment to the attainment of global peace and stability, which will enable countries to focus their resources on the pursuit of economic and social development for the well-being of their peoples.

With that in mind, all of our personnel deployed in any United Nations peacekeeping mission will always try to reach out to win the hearts and minds of

the local populace through quick-impact projects. At the national level, Malaysia has always provided assistance to countries in need through Malaysian Technical Cooperation Programme initiatives, with the aim of contributing to nation-building in affected countries. In addition, Malaysia has always encouraged its business community to invest in developing countries, helping to provide more jobs and wealth creation, particularly in countries affected by conflict.

In order to ensure that our peacekeepers are well trained and ready to perform the duties required of them, the Malaysian Government established its own Peacekeeping Training Centre in 1996. The Centre not only provides training for Malaysians but is also open to foreign participants. In January 2010, it hosted the eleventh United Nations Senior Mission Leaders course, in which 24 participants from 20 countries, representing military, police and civilian institutions, attended a 14-day course. We will continue to upgrade the Centre's facilities, as well as the quality of the training provided, based on United Nations best practices and the experience that we have gained over the past 51 years in United Nations peacekeeping missions.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate Malaysia's firm and continuing support for peacekeeping activities under the umbrella of the United Nations, and that the United Nations can continue to count on Malaysia's direct contribution in this important area in future.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Kyrgyzstan.

**Mr. Kydyrov** (Kyrgyzstan): Kyrgyzstan shares the sentiments of the Secretary-General and others and expresses its deep condolences to the victims and families of the United Nations workers in Nigeria, and to the people and Government of Nigeria. Kyrgyzstan strongly condemns the attacks there today.

Let me thank you, Sir, for having organized this open debate on the topical subject of United Nations peacekeeping activities. Representatives of the Kyrgyz Republic began participating in United Nations peacekeeping missions in 1998 as military observers and civilian police. Every year since then, we have sent about 30 servicemen and officers from our law-enforcement organizations to peacekeeping missions, mainly in the States of the African continent. Given that almost three-quarters of United Nations peacekeeping personnel and budget allotments are used in that region, Kyrgyzstan supports the proposal to strengthen the peacekeeping capacity of the African Union.

In recent years, along with its experience participating in peacekeeping missions, Kyrgyzstan has gained invaluable experience in the fields of preventive diplomacy, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction during its two people's revolutions, particularly in the fight against terrorism and in combating drug trafficking. As a country ever striving for greater democracy, we are therefore ready to expand our participation in peacekeeping activities in their current forms and within the broad mandate of contributing to the maintenance of peace and security.

Today, the potential of United Nations peacekeeping activity has significantly increased both quantitatively and qualitatively, and thus demands a comprehensive approach to peacebuilding and to strengthening the partnership between the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat, the countries that send peacekeepers, and host States. It is important that we have an organic system of military, diplomatic and other measures for resolving conflicts. And this will undoubtedly need additional measures in order to develop and implement better mechanisms for mobilizing the resources that peacekeeping operations require. Only then can we expect to see improved effectiveness in peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities.

The significant growth in the role and scope of peacekeeping operations and their expanded functions require the enhanced effectiveness of regional and subregional organizations. Given the experience of last year's tragic events in Kyrgyzstan, we believe it is important that, along with traditional partners like the African Union and the European Union, the United Nations foster increased cooperation with other regional organizations. In particular, we refer to the Collective Security Treaty Organization in order to enhance the effectiveness of mediation and the peaceful settlement of possible disputes in the region.

One of the important lessons which Kyrgyzstan has learned concerns the need to clarify the legal framework for international cooperation, including in the mandates of regional organizations and in non-standard situations. On the other hand, measures taken at the national level must serve as a necessary component. For example, Kyrgyzstan will make

additional efforts towards the legislative regulation of peacekeeping activity at the national level. Currently, a draft law on principles and modalities for the participation of the Kyrgyz Republic in the activities of maintaining international peace and security is being elaborated. The law defines certain basic concepts for the first time, including the components of peacekeeping activity of the Kyrgyz Republic, and the order of formation and deployment of peacekeepers outside the country. It eliminates legal gaps and creates the necessary legal mechanisms.

Kyrgyzstan is also in favour of improving the planning system and expanding programmes on the targeted training of peacekeeping personnel, especially relating to promoting women to relevant positions in United Nations peacekeeping missions. We see that as another reserve for strengthening United Nations peacekeeping capacity.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of the Philippines.

**Mr. Cabactulan** (Philippines): Before I deliver my statement, I wish to state that the Philippines joins other Member States in strongly condemning the bombing of the United Nations office in Abuja, and expresses its deep condolences over the United Nations personnel and Nigerian citizens who perished, as well as those who were seriously injured in that horrific attack.

The Philippine delegation would like to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this timely and important open debate on the present and future of United Nations peacekeeping operations. As a country committed to committing troops and police to various United Nations peacekeeping missions, the Philippines highly values this opportunity to engage the Security Council in meaningful discussion on the challenges we face and ways to collectively resolve them.

The Philippines aligns itself with the statement delivered by the Permanent Representative of the Kingdom of Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. My delegation likewise expresses its appreciation for the briefing by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, which set the tone of our debate today.

We also welcome the heightened interaction and dialogue among other key stakeholders of the global peacekeeping agenda, including the Secretariat, the General Assembly and troop- and police-contributing countries. One concrete example of such productive interaction has been the recently held informal meeting between the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the heads of military components.

As we listened intently to the Force Commanders of 16 United Nations peacekeeping missions, we derived relevant and useful insights, learned critical lessons and figured out ways on how best to move forward. We thank the Department of Peacekeeping Operations for having organized the meeting, and look forward to further interactions with our men and women in the field and to seeing the recommendations generated during those interactions transformed into concrete action.

Philippine participation in peacekeeping missions dates back 48 years to the deployment of a 40-man Air Force squadron to the Congo. Since then, the Philippines has modestly contributed to various peacekeeping missions in fulfilment of its international commitment to maintaining international peace and security. Despite its limited resources, the Philippines strives to find ways and means to assist the United Nations by contributing troops and police officers to existing and emerging missions.

I am pleased to highlight that my country is playing an active part in the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, under the leadership of our very own Major General Natalio Ecarma III, in which a 344-strong Filipino contingent is deployed. At present, the Philippines is strengthening its own peacekeeping mechanisms and charting a new road map to allow it to increase the number of its peacekeepers and expand its participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations in the near future.

Today, the Philippines has the modest number of 893 military and police personnel serving in seven peacekeeping operations around the world. I wish to highlight that 10 per cent of our peacekeepers are women — a figure which will surely increase in the years ahead. The Philippines is a strong partner of the United Nations in the promotion of women's active involvement and participation in peacekeeping. We fully support the idea of integrating the gender perspective in the deployment of peacekeeping personnel, and continue to play our part in putting that into practice.

The Philippines strongly advocates the continuous training and development of peacekeepers

to strengthen the effectiveness and success of their missions. To this end, the Philippines successfully hosted the first training of trainers in the Asian region in June in Manila. Participants from 13 countries were trained to present the new United Nations police standardized training curriculum on preventing and investigating sexual and gender-based crimes to police officers, in preparation for their deployment to a field mission. The training-of-trainers course is specifically designed for the post-conflict environment and ensures that United Nations police officers will have the required knowledge of procedure and the skills necessary to assist their counterparts in the host State in preventing and investigating sexual crimes and gender-based violence throughout the investigation, prosecution and trial processes.

The Philippines is satisfied with the achievements made by the United Nations thus far, and would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the courageous and dedicated men and women serving under the blue and white flag of the United Nations. The Philippines is especially mindful of the sacrifices made by our peacekeepers, especially those who are deployed under harsh and hostile conditions, and salutes all those who have given their lives to the cause of peace.

At the same time, the Philippines acknowledges and appreciates the continued efforts made by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support to keep us abreast of developments in the field of peacekeeping and to fully address the increasing demand for peacekeepers worldwide, despite countless challenges and difficulties.

Based on its experience as an active troop- and police-contributing country, the Philippines notes that the surge in and increased demand for peacekeepers are not often matched by the capabilities and resources necessary to meet our peacekeeping commitments. This is not only a budgetary problem, but also involves the careful and methodical planning and effective execution of the mandates conferred by the Security Council. It is imperative that we continue to find ways and means to ensure the safety and protection of our peacekeepers. Hence, we must ensure that they are adequately armed and equipped to enhance their capacity to protect themselves in high-risk areas.

The Philippines believes that the solution to the challenges lies in our collective will and action. As we implement the peacekeeping reform agenda, the extensive experiences we have gained on the ground could enrich discussions on vital areas such as policy and capability development, global field support strategies, and planning and oversight. There is no silver bullet that will solve the complicated and risky operation of peacekeeping, but through hard work, perseverance and wise decisions we can always improve the utilization of our scarce resources and apply our collective experiences to ensuring the successful deployment of peacekeepers and the completion of their mission.

In closing, let me reiterate my country's full cooperation with the Security Council, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support, and once again manifest our unwavering commitment to helping maintain international peace and security and to preventing the escalation of conflict at various points across the globe.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Canada.

**Mr. Rivard** (Canada): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for this opportunity to contribute to the Council's deliberations on the challenges facing contemporary United Nations peacekeeping operations. For Canada, this is an issue of primary importance.

Let me first acknowledge the sacrifices of those who serve in United Nations peacekeeping operations, including the men and women who have lost their lives in the cause of peace this past year. United Nations personnel continually rise to meet new challenges with professionalism and dedication amid difficult and often dangerous conditions. Today's bomb attack outside the main United Nations office in Abuja reminded us again of the sacrifices made and challenges faced by the brave women and men who work for peace and security. We condemn this terrorist attack on the United Nations and we extend our sincerest condolences to the families of the victims and to the Government and people of Nigeria.

Indeed, the United Nations efforts have contributed to a number of key successes over the past year. These include the peaceful conduct of the referendum on the future status of Southern Sudan and the re-establishment of public services and security in Haiti after the earthquake, followed by the peaceful conclusion of Haiti's presidential elections.

This said, United Nations personnel continue to be tested by the complex operational environments in which they work. These environments are often characterized by multidimensional challenges and asymmetric threats requiring an agile response from our personnel. There remain a number of critical issues facing contemporary peace operations. I would like to focus my remarks today on three issues of particular relevance to the Security Council: responding to the gap in expectations, generating capabilities, and building a comprehensive doctrinal framework.

First, let me address the issue of expectations. Peacekeeping forces are called upon time and again to perform a wide range of mandated tasks, from protecting civilians in the lingering violence of post-conflict settings to monitoring elections and capacity-building of national security elements. Such tasks require mandates and forces designed for flexibility, responsiveness and mobility — in short, military, police and civilian personnel fully able to adapt to changing conditions on the ground.

Unfortunately, complex mandates are often not matched with either sufficient or the most appropriate capacities. We must also acknowledge that there will always be limits to the sources of personnel and funds needed to meet all of the needs that we believe should be addressed. The Council must wisely balance the expectations laid out in its mandates with the realities of what can be readily achieved with the capabilities available. The Council must also recognize that the complex challenges typical of these environments require solutions that cannot be realized in the short-term.

Complex mandates therefore demand personnel who are well trained and well equipped, are devoted to missions, and have the full flexibility to be employed across the spectrum of tasks and the breadth of the field of operations, as the mission leadership requires. We should note the recommendations contained in the report (S/2011/85) of the Senior Advisory Group on civilian capacities appointed by the Secretary General, which lays out some proposals for the recruitment, training, deployment and coordination of expertise across United Nations missions.

In order for personnel to achieve the agility required to carry out ever more complex mandates, all Member States must assume responsibility for the expectations these mandates create. This includes host Governments, which must bear their share of responsibility for ensuring that the mission achieves the results that the population needs. These expectations can only be managed effectively if the Security Council ensures that, from the earliest planning stages, there is a meaningful dialogue between the Council, Member States — in particular troop- and police-contributing countries and host Governments — and the Secretariat.

(*spoke in French*)

Secondly, producing the desired effect within multidimensional missions demands adequate capabilities. The New Horizon initiative rightly focuses on improving capabilities, streamlining and increasing effectiveness at the level of Headquarters and in the field. These two elements are complementary. Member States also need to ensure that the achievement of the major objectives of the New Horizon initiative is maintained so that, in the mid-term, the United Nations can effectively generate the capabilities needed to deliver the more complex and diverse responsibilities within existing budgetary capacities.

Thirdly, progress has been made in developing policy doctrine and norms for peacekeeping personnel, but much work still lies ahead to build a solid doctrinal framework for all personnel. Without this, effective recruitment standards and pre-deployment training and the matching of capabilities with assignments cannot follow. The international community can ill afford to fail in sustaining efforts to standardize practices, streamline management, deepen expertise and clarify roles and responsibilities within the United Nations system and with partners. Achieving sustainability in operations depends upon such accountability. Moreover, the challenges facing peacekeeping missions continue to evolve. Without the revised framework for peacekeeping that New Horizon proposes, there is a danger of a widening disconnect between the Council's response to emerging, unexpected challenges, and the tools and capabilities available.

In closing let me underscore that we, the States Members of the United Nations, must find common approaches to strengthen all facets of peace operations. Canada remains committed to this end.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Uganda.

**Mr. Kafeero** (Uganda): Like other delegations, Uganda condemns the attack today on the United Nations building in Abuja, Nigeria. We express our deep sympathy and condolences to the victims, their families, and the people and Government of Nigeria and, through the Secretary General, to the United Nations family.

I thank you, Sir, for organizing this important debate and the concept note (S/2011/496, annex) prepared to help steer today's discussions. We thank the Secretary-General for his informative briefing this morning. This debate comes at a time when United Nations peacekeeping is being put to the test by new challenges to global peace and security. Addressing these challenges requires a more concerted and comprehensive approach at all levels if the United Nations is to meet the present and future challenges.

Uganda acknowledges the important contributions that peacekeeping operations have continued to make to the cardinal role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security. The United Nations has attained successes in many areas, but there have also been a number of setbacks. That is why it is crucial for the Council to continuously evaluate and reflect on whether its peacekeeping approach to conflict situations and the prescribed solutions are correct.

I would like to make five points. First, it is important to recognize that an ineffective United Nations peacekeeping capability anywhere around the world greatly hurts the Organization, particularly in the eyes of an affected population. As aptly put in the concept paper, the United Nations needs to address the current mismatch between resources and mandates to address the performance deficit.

It is difficult for missions in hostile and dangerous situations to effectively carry out their mandates without the requisite capabilities. It is therefore essential that United Nations peacekeeping be adaptable and effective enough to deal with new challenges. In recent years, we have seen a welcome shift towards more robust United Nations peacekeeping, such as the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However, that very Mission has until recently lacked vital resources, such as air assets, to fulfil its mandate.

Secondly, we are convinced that if peacekeeping operations are to achieve their intended purpose, the root causes of conflicts need to be carefully identified and appropriately addressed at the planning stage. This requires a clear understanding of the situation on the ground. United Nations peacekeeping efforts should support the political resolution of conflict, respect the sovereignty of States, remain impartial and work with all parties to overcome their problems.

Thirdly, the relationship between the Security Council and troop-contributing countries is particularly crucial. It is crucial because the political objectives and peacekeeping mandates of missions need to be clear and credible. The mandates of peacekeeping operations should include a range of measurable benchmarks. A stronger understanding between contributing countries and the Council as to what is expected of peacekeeping missions to fulfil these objectives can greatly facilitate the achievement of mission objectives. Uganda therefore welcomes and supports efforts to strengthen cooperation and interaction among all stakeholders in peacekeeping operations.

Fourthly, the challenges of modern-day peacekeeping attest to the fact that not even the United Nations on its own is capable of dealing with the new challenges. Given the capabilities demonstrated by regional organizations, such as the African Union and its subregional organizations, the United Nations should take maximum advantage of their strengths and the roles that they can play. This will require the strengthening of strategic relationships with such organizations, consistent with Chapter VIII of the Charter. This will improve the capacity of these organizations to contribute to the efforts of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. In this regard, Uganda welcomes the support given to the African Union Mission in Somalia in working the stabilization of that country. However, my delegation underscores the importance and urgency of the Security Council providing the Mission with predictable, reliable and timely resources and force enablers in order to fulfil its mandate.

Fifthly, the early inclusion of some aspects of peacebuilding, especially socio-economic reconstruction activities, in peacekeeping operations is vital to durable recovery and success. It is important to ensure that people afflicted by conflict get tangible peace dividends through the provision of such basic services as health care, education, shelter and improvement of

their standards of living. In this regard, my delegation calls on the United Nations system to ensure greater coherence in peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and development activities.

Finally, Uganda pays tribute to the men and women of the United Nations, many of whom serve in some of the most dangerous places on Earth. We especially remember and honour those who have paid the ultimate sacrifice in the service of peace.

**The President**: I call on the representative of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

**Mr. Valero Briceño** (Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela) (*spoke in Spanish*): We thank the President of the Security Council for having convened this important meeting. Venezuela expresses its disgust at the acts of terrorism carried out against United Nations facilities in Nigeria and the regrettable loss of human life.

Our delegation aligns itself with the declaration delivered on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement by the Permanent Representative of Morocco.

Peacekeeping operations are valuable tools within the various political resources available to the United Nations to assist in the resolution of conflicts within the framework of its efforts to strengthen international peace and security. The nature of their mandates has recently been subject to an important transformation process. These operations have increased over the past two decades, both in the number of field missions and in the number of troops deployed.

Some political and military Powers call for strengthening the persuasive capacity of peacekeeping missions, but what they really want is to undermine the full exercise of sovereignty of the countries involved. The doctrines that certain Powers seek to introduce violate the basic principles of peacekeeping operations, namely, the consent of the parties, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence.

Given the current climate of rampant imperialism, which seeks to maintain or regain political and military dominance over developing countries, it is more necessary than ever to safeguard the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of nations. In the light of recent experiences, it is imperative to ensure that peacekeeping operations fulfil the noble purpose for which they were created. It is therefore imperative that, in implementing mission mandates, no threat be posed to their legitimacy and the complex relationship of trust that they must maintain with the countries in which they are deployed. On this basis rests, in large measure, any political process that seeks to achieve a just and lasting peace.

The increase in peacekeeping operations is evidence of the growing tensions and conflicts in the world. Conflict situations will continue to proliferate so long as the structural situations of poverty, injustice, oppression, exploitation and foreign domination promoted by neo-colonial ambitions persist.

Since we are talking today about peacekeeping and conflict resolution, we would like to refer to the assault perpetrated against the accredited embassy and diplomatic residency of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Libya on 23 August by an armed and violent mob, causing extensive damage to its facilities and endangering the lives of the people who were there. As they publicly proclaimed, the irrational assailants had planned to assassinate the accredited Venezuelan Ambassador, Mr. Afif Tajeldine.

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela deplores the fact that those responsible for these criminal actions answer to the self-styled National Transitional Council which, with irrational stubbornness, has criticized Venezuela's firm position in defence of international law, expressed by its respect for the sovereignty and self-determination of the Libyan people.

It is well known that the National Transitional Council is protected by the United States of America and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela denounces these countries for seeking to seize the invaluable water resources, hydrocarbon reserves and international assets of the Libyan people, which amount to some $200 billion dollars.

Following the destruction of one of the best infrastructures on the African continent, built for the welfare of the Libyan people, the aggressor Powers have begun to redistribute among themselves, through acts of pillage, the lucrative contracts for the reconstruction of that country, thus turning the destruction of a developing country into an immoral business transaction.

Resolution 1973 (2011) established that the sovereignty and territorial unity and integrity of Libya

must be respected. Who authorized the killing of thousands of civilians in Libya in the name of defending civilians? Who authorized the destruction of civilian facilities, such as schools, hospitals and universities, in that country? The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela declares that arming, training and supporting internal subversive groups in Libya, promoting and financing a regime change, ordering the assassination of the leader of a sovereign nation, and attacking the territorial integrity and political independence of Libya are clear and systematic violations of the now unspeakable resolution 1973 (2011) and the Charter of the United Nations, undermining the fundamental principles and norms of international law.

At this tragic, historic time when international peace and security are threatened, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela reiterates its call on all the parties to the conflict in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to establish an immediate ceasefire that allows for negotiations towards reaching a political solution in order to avoid further bloodshed and that lays the foundations for a lasting peace in that sister nation, under the good offices that the African Union has proposed since the beginning of the conflict.

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela reaffirms that it recognizes only the Government led by Muammar Al-Qadhafi and that it will not recognize any Government set up in Libya as a result of that interventionist imperialist aggression.

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela has requested the Secretary-General to condemn the violation of the sovereignty of the homeland of the liberator Simón Bolivar and to reiterate the international obligation to guarantee the inviolability of diplomatic missions accredited to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the observer of the European Union.

**Mr. Vrailas** (European Union): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU). The candidate countries Turkey, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Montenegro; the countries of the Stabilization and Association Process and potential candidates Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia; the European Free Trade Association country Liechtenstein, member of the European Economic Area; as well as Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova align themselves with this declaration.

We were deeply saddened by the loss of life in the brutal attack on the United Nations building in Abuja today. We extend our heartfelt sympathies to the families and friends of the victims, the Secretary-General, our United Nations colleagues and the Government and the people of Nigeria. The European Union strongly condemns that senseless act of violence towards the United Nations and its personnel.

The answer to the question of whether peacekeeping works is a clear and resounding "yes". That is the conclusion of one of the many studies in the recent past to have sung the praises of peacekeeping. Bringing in peacekeepers reduces the risk of war recurring by no less than 84 per cent, according to factual evidence cited in that particular study. It is definitely a fact that we cannot take such a success rate for granted. Peacekeeping needs to keep up with a world constantly changing and the partnership underpinning it needs constant nurturing. That is why the EU would like to thank Council President India, a major troop-contributing country, for having organized today's debate. It represents an important opportunity to take stock and prepare for the future, to paraphrase the useful concept note before us (S/2011/496, annex).

In the future, the United Nations can continue to count on the EU's unwavering support for peacekeeping. The United Nations and the EU see eye to eye on crisis management, with a vision of all instruments — political, civilian and military — being mobilized in the interest of peace. Aside from the considerable direct support of the EU and its member States, our own EU missions buttress the United Nations peacekeeping efforts, depending on the strategic context and situation. Such EU missions come in different shapes and sizes, for example stand-alone, bridging and stand-by operations.

Peacekeeping stands or fails by the partnership among the Security Council, General Assembly bodies, contributing countries, host parties, regional and other partners and the Secretariat. To act in the spirit of partnership means, for example, that the Security Council involves contributing countries as early and as much as possible. It means that we all work to preserve a culture of consensus decision-making, where it exists, and the commitment of all partners to the

objective of financially realistic and field-driven peacekeeping.

I say "field-driven" because our men and women on the ground are often a few steps ahead of us, as we saw during last month's useful meetings of the Security Council (see S/PV.6592) and Committee of Thirty Four (C-34) with Force Commanders. Whether we are talking about robust peacekeeping, the protection of civilians, early peacebuilding, implementation of the women and peace and security agenda, or the better use of intelligence for early warning, they know what it takes to get the job done. The EU supports the proposal of more regular contact with Force Commanders via video link. Such contact offers all of us at the Headquarters level a chance to learn how we can adapt, for example, peacekeeping doctrine, policy documents and training modules, including on the implementation of protection mandates, to make for a better fit with the field.

Aside from taking stock, we would like mostly to use today's debate to prepare for the future. Allow me to briefly touch upon a number of current challenges.

First of all, we must further clarify and concretize the peacekeeping-peacebuilding nexus. Now that, after years of expansion, peacekeeping seems headed towards a consolidation phase, this is a policy area that demands our attention. Last year's New Horizon progress report rightly highlighted that. Peacekeeping operations can help national authorities and other partners to set peacebuilding priorities, facilitate their implementation by providing security, and take on some early peacebuilding tasks themselves.

However, as the C-34 stressed this year, we need clarity and our peacekeepers need clarity. From the earliest stages of planning onward, they need to know exactly what is expected of them in that field and what is not. The EU hopes that the upcoming strategy for critical early peacebuilding tasks undertaken by peacekeeping operations will contribute to that. Of course, we also look to the Peacebuilding Commission to continue to play its role in further clarifying and concretizing the peacekeeping-peacebuilding nexus.

A closely related challenge is the implementation of the recommendations of the comprehensive review of international civilian capacities (S/2011/85). Civilian aspects of peacekeeping operations, such as election monitoring, police reform and support for the promotion and protection of human rights, have proven to be instrumental to mission performance. Recruiting civilian specialists for those newer peacekeeping tasks was identified as a particular challenge in the New Horizon report, and the comprehensive review came up with many ways in which we could rise to that challenge. Quite a few of the recommendations could be implemented without delay, and the EU encourages the Secretariat to do so. Other recommendations may require further elaboration, and we look forward to the upcoming report of the Secretary-General to flesh them out. The EU has ample experience in that field through our Common Security Defence Policy operations, and we are ready to share it, while systematically seeking synergies with the United Nations.

Besides civilian capacities, we also need to secure military capabilities, including critical equipment. That is the third and last challenge that the EU would like to briefly highlight today. These days, a peacekeeper needs more than a blue helmet. As we can read in the New Horizon report, "new peacekeeping tasks demand new equipment, from night vision and modern communication equipment to naval vessels". In that regard, we know that there is a pressing need for military helicopters, especially where the area of operations is vast and the infrastructure limited. The urgency of the matter at hand calls for pragmatic and swift solutions, and the EU looks forward to studying and discussing the Secretariat's forthcoming proposals.

More generally, whether it concerns civilian capacities or military capabilities, the EU continues to support the Secretariat's ongoing efforts to put in place a comprehensive, capability-driven approach to peacekeeping. Of course, making peacekeeping more effective is about more than ensuring that the different pieces of the puzzle are on the table. They also have to fit together. In other words, we need to work hard on close cooperation among the civilian, military and police components of a mission, including through clear doctrine and comprehensive strategic and operational planning.

Before I close, the EU would like to pay tribute to our men and women on the ground, serving in peacekeeping missions around the world, some of whom have paid the ultimate price in the pursuit of peace. Earlier this month, we sadly lost four peacekeepers of the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei. We hope that the results of the ongoing investigation into the circumstances of their deaths will soon be considered.

Finally, the EU wants to thank former Under-Secretary-General Le Roy for his dedication and determination. It wishes him all the best as he sets sights on new horizons.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Bangladesh.

**Mr. Rahman** (Bangladesh): Let me begin by joining other colleagues in condemning in the strongest possible terms this morning's deadly attack on the United Nations building in Abuja. The people and Government of Bangladesh stand by the people and Government of Nigeria, as well as the members of the United Nations family, at this difficult time.

My delegation expresses its heartiest congratulations to the Indian delegation on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. I also take this opportunity to thank the presidency for focusing this debate on the theme "Peacekeeping: taking stock and preparing for the future" and for sharing with us a thought-provoking concept note (S/2011/496, annex). It amply delineates the priority and importance attached to the cause of international peace, security and stability by the Security Council. Our appreciation is also owed to the Secretary-General and other speakers for their statements.

My delegation aligns itself with the statement made by the representative of the Kingdom of Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

It hardly requires reiterating that United Nations peacekeeping is a unique and flagship activity of the Organization. The presence of Blue Helmets in the field provides hope of sustainable peace to the victims of conflict, buttresses efforts to achieve peace among world communities, reinvigorates related activities for making peace sustainable, and compels conflicting parties to resort to a peaceful solution.

In that regard, we convey our heartfelt gratitude to those who have made the ultimate sacrifice while working under the United Nations umbrella. However, their sacrifice was not in vain. Mediation and peacekeeping have contributed to an 80 per cent decline in the total number of armed conflicts since the end of the cold war. As the study suggests, 87 per cent of United Nations peacekeeping operations have been successful, as compared to the 50 per cent success rate of other peace operations. Furthermore, United Nations peacekeeping is the most cost effective vis-à-vis that of others. Above all, the opportunity cost of peacekeeping is immeasurable in terms of any financial or other resource standard. It means that United Nations peacekeeping is a must, and that we must ensure proper and effective support services to peacekeeping missions for the effective implementation of their mandates.

Peacekeeping has turned out to be a more multidimensional and complex task compared to what it was a few years ago. The future success of a peacekeeping mission will therefore largely depend on the political support that it receives and on the adequate and timely provision of financial, logistical and human resources, as well as the involvement of stakeholders on the ground. In that regard, we reiterate the importance of closer and active involvement with troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries when deciding on new peacekeeping missions or extending or amending the mandates of current missions. We emphasize the following specific measures for building an effective partnership throughout the whole process, especially at both the decision-making and the implementation levels, for the successful operation of peacekeeping missions in the future.

There must be a broader political partnership between the United Nations and the host Government to ensure political support for peacekeeping operations. Effective and inclusive consultation among the Security Council, the Secretariat and the TCCs must be ensured. The views of TCCs must be reflected when deciding mission start-up and in effecting any change in the mandate of existing missions. The initial mandate must be crafted carefully and fully reflect potential TCCs.

A specific timeline must be stipulated, in consultation with the TCCs, in finalizing the memorandum of understanding. Any change in operations must be in compliance with the views of those who work in the field. Fair representation of TCCs in the decision-making process within the Secretariat, as well as in the process of implementation, must be ensured. The representational issue of TCCs in the relevant department, such as the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support, must be ensured, as repeatedly requested by the General Assembly. The mandates of peacekeepers must be clear, specific and

well defined, supported by adequate resources, with sufficient safety and security, as well as the provision of training.

At the operational level, partnership should include the following:ensuring the minimum peace to be kept by the peacekeepers; creating workable conditions for the peacekeepers to operate in; ensuring the necessary coordination among relevant stakeholders and among the United Nations and other bilateral and regional stakeholders; and concerted efforts among the United Nations agencies, funds and programmes and the Bretton Woods institutions in the field.

For our part, Bangladesh has played a cardinal role in the maintenance of international peace and security, for which we take a modicum of pride. In that context, I refer to the statement of the Honourable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in the general debate of the sixty-fourth session of the General Assembly, in which she said:

> "Bangladesh is proud of its outstanding role as a major troop-contributing country serving the United Nations in maintaining peace and security worldwide." (*A/64/PV.9, p. 24*)

We have had to brave poor odds and many difficulties and to endure many sacrifices in the process of fulfilling the commitment to international peace and security, as enshrined in our Constitution, which has been a constant source of our motivation and dedication. Since 1988, Bangladesh has been involved in 36 United Nations peacekeeping operations, with approximately 100,000 personnel. Today, Bangladesh is ranked first in the field.

With a mix of pride and gratitude, I say that over the years some 103 of our valiant peacekeepers have laid down their invaluable lives for the cause of United Nations-sponsored peace. On this occasion, we pay homage to all peacekeepers from Bangladesh and other TCCs who have made the supreme sacrifice for the noble cause of international peace and prosperity. We also reiterate our firm commitment to continuing our partnership with the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations.

**Mr. António** (African Union) (*spoke in French*): Like representatives who have spoken before us, we, too, would like to convey our condolences to Nigeria and to the United Nations following the attack that took place in the historic African city of Abuja. Nigeria is dear to us, including in the area of peacekeeping.

This is also an opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. President, on having organized this debate, and to underscore the fact that India is an exemplary reference point in the area of peacekeeping. We pay tribute to the sacrifices made by your fellow citizens in the field, including in Africa.

We particularly welcome the fact that in your concept note (S/2011/496, annex), you place special emphasis on the issue of partnership and on the need to enhance the capacities of the African Union. Indeed, in parallel to the efforts that we have made within the African Union to bolster its peace and security architecture, we have also been involved in various consultations within the United Nations that have led to the issuance of relevant documents, Security Council presidential statements and reports, such as that of the joint African Union-United Nations panel (S/2008/813).

Here, it is especially important to underscore the excellent relations that we have developed between the African Union Commission and the United Nations Secretariat, which have strengthened certain consultation mechanisms, such as the Joint Task Force on Peace and Security, launched by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and African Union Chairman Jean Ping on 25 September 2010. As Council members will be aware, we have also strengthened consultations between the African Union Peace and Security Council and the Security Council. In that regard, we could further build upon these consultations and strengthen cooperation mechanisms between the two bodies.

We are also active in other areas, such as humanitarian assistance, which is a new area of activity for the African Union, thanks to cooperation with United Nations bodies such as the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. It is of note that the African Union recently organized a donors' conference for Somalia, the preparations for which benefited greatly from the capacities we have begun to develop in the area of humanitarian assistance.

The African Union organized a retreat last year in Cairo that brought together representatives of the

United Nations, the African Union and other countries and organizations, with the aim of achieving more effective coordination and harmonization at the strategic and operational levels. We intend to hold another such event next month in Cairo to continue strengthening the mechanisms for cooperation among the various stakeholders involved in peacekeeping.

Initiatives are also under way to build African Union capacities in the area of civilian capacity. As the Council knows, this is an area in which we and the international system have certain weaknesses. We believe that the African Union will, in the near future, have an asset base in the form of a pool of human resources, from which civilian capacity can be deployed on the ground when necessary.

On the ground, we have developed a number of practical and innovative approaches to meet peace and security challenges. It is important to emphasize in particular the initial support units and reinforcements authorized by the Security Council. Members will no doubt recall the United Nations Mission in Angola, but we would like to focus on ongoing operations: the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID).

With regard to AMISOM, we would like first to thank all the partners who have contributed so far to this peacekeeping operation. We would like especially to take this opportunity to reiterate the need for predictable funding in order to effectively carry out the work of that African Union Mission on the ground.

In the light of recent developments on the ground, the African Union has been taking stock of the situation. We held a workshop on 17 and 18 August in Addis Ababa to consider how to improve our work, given the tangible results being achieved by African Union forces in Somalia.

In the coming months, AMISOM will therefore focus its efforts on securing Mogadishu in order to create conditions for reconciliation and to facilitate the free movement of international personnel; the implementation, within its limited resources and in a gradual manner, of phase II of the concept of operations; and above all the extension of the authority of the Transitional Federal Government, thereby creating the conditions not only for reconciliation but also for the distribution of humanitarian aid, which is, of course, difficult to do in conditions of insecurity.

I would like to focus on the recommendations that emerged from the workshop, to which I would like to draw the attention of the members of the Security Council. First, the deployment of additional troops by contributing countries should be accelerated in order to attain as soon as possible the force level of 12,000 personnel and thereby safeguard the gains made in recent months on the ground. The strengthening of United Nations support is also of great importance, as is the deployment of police to maintain law and order in Mogadishu.

Secondly, it was proposed to establish, as an integral part of AMISOM, a guard force to facilitate the deployment of civilian personnel and to ensure the protection of the African Union and United Nations staff in Mogadishu. The personnel of such a force should not be included within the 12,000 personnel authorized by the Security Council. This, in our view, is another aspect which it is important to bear in mind.

It is important that any evaluation of progress achieved in peacekeeping to date be accompanied by an analysis of the progress made in the coordination and harmonization, depending on the case, of the decisions taken by our political bodies. In practice, we are all pursuing the same goal: a return to peace and the creation of conditions for lasting security in countries in conflict where peacekeeping operations are deployed.

With regard to UNAMID, the African Union closely followed the process that led to the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 2003 (2011), which, among other things, renewed UNAMID's mandate. The Council's adoption of that resolution followed the adoption on 19 July 2011 by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union of a decision whereby it not only requested the renewal of the UNAMID mandate but also underlined the need to launch the Darfur political process on the basis of the progress made in light of the Doha document for peace in Darfur as a means of supporting the progress achieved and ensuring that Darfur take effective ownership of the quest for peace, justice and reconciliation in the region.

The African Union is of the view that the questions which arose following our efforts for the resumption of the Darfur process make it clear that there is a need to consider the importance to be attached to the positions of the African Union on the

situation in Darfur, as articulated by the relevant political bodies, in particular the Peace and Security Council. Those issues raised by certain members of the Security Council also strengthen the need to bolster mechanisms for coordination in the context of the strategic United Nations-African Union partnership on the peace and security challenges in Africa, of which the African Union remains continuously seized.

The African Union therefore calls on all parties concerned to demonstrate their ongoing commitment to respecting the hybrid nature of UNAMID and the implementation of its mandate under the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the decisions of the African Union Peace and Security Council. In practice, we see respect for the hybrid nature of UNAMID as a prerequisite for the effective implementation of the Mission's mandate, which will be a source of inspiration for future endeavours of this sort.

As I said at the outset, your delegation, Sir, was correct to underscore that peacekeeping is above all a partnership. I take this opportunity to reaffirm the commitment of the African Union to continuing to work with the Security Council, the entire United Nations family, Member States and international partners, including non-governmental organizations, which also make great sacrifices on the ground, including in Africa.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the Permanent Representative of Fiji.

**Mr. Thomson** (Fiji): Fiji joins those who have spoken before us in condemning the Abuja bombing and in offering our condolences to the victims and their families.

The Fiji delegation would like to thank you, Sir, for having chosen the subject of this thematic debate. It displays a keen sense of relevance and foresight on the part of the Indian presidency.

For a country like Fiji, which places United Nations peacekeeping at the centre of its foreign policy, better mutual understanding on this central aspect of the United Nations work is critical. The remarks that follow come from a Pacific small island developing country whose servicemen and servicewomen have for the past three decades worn the blue helmet in United Nations peacekeeping missions in more than 15 troubled countries.

In terms of taking stock, it is no secret that peacekeeping is a loss-making undertaking for many troop-contributing countries. For a country like Fiji, the cost of the fair wages we pay our soldiers serving on United Nations peacekeeping missions does not equate to what the United Nations reimburses us; in fact, the United Nations reimbursement falls far short. This is a stock-taking item that requires further introspection by the United Nations.

We recognize that the United Nations must cut the cloth to fit the suit. Thus, the United Nations must examine all its options for cost-effectiveness, including decreasing the number of United Nations peacekeepers deployed internationally, encouraging greater South-South and triangular cooperation, allowing more sharing of resources between nearby peacekeeping missions, and instituting better coordination between the United Nations and contributing countries.

Turning to preparations for the future, the clear view of the Fiji delegation is that it is humanly possible to resolve the various political conflicts that have preoccupied the world's attention for so long. What is required is the genuine political will of the parties concerned to negotiate and settle.

There is a reason these conflicts have to move to speedy settlement. The reason is that if this world body is to fulfil its Charter obligations, it must begin steeling itself for the great security threat of the twenty-first century. We refer not to squabbling neighbours, to long-festering ethnic, tribal or religious feuds, or the geopolitical gamesmanship of the twentieth century; we refer to the looming onslaught of climate change and the geophysical alterations it will bring upon our planet, upon our societies, and perhaps upon life itself. All our human resources — intellectual, economic and political — will be required if we are to handle this ultimate challenge as best we can. And if we care about the welfare of our grandchildren, only our best response will be good enough. We say "our" because it is here at the United Nations that the solutions must be found.

This is not a struggle that individual countries can win, for climate change will not respect national boundaries. Rising sea levels may drive some low-lying countries to extinction, while others will have to deal with massive population displacement as the great food-producing deltas go under water. Desertification,

ferocious storms and melting ice-caps will disdain national boundaries and similar human constructs.

It is for this reason that Fiji and the other Pacific small island developing States spoke up so strongly at last month's thematic debate in the Council on the impact of climate change on international peace and security (S/PV.6587). Thus, our concluding contribution to this thematic debate is that United Nations peacekeeping must indeed prepare for the future — a different future in which, we submit, humanity will face hostile environmental forces to a degree we have not faced since the last ice age drove our kind to the edge.

In all the drawn-out climate change deliberations being pursued through other organs and bodies of the United Nations, we submit that the Security Council should throughout maintain focus on the security and peacekeeping implications of climate change that lie ahead of us.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Norway.

**Mrs. Smith** (Norway): Like other speakers, I firmly condemn the terrorist attack in Abuja today. A Norwegian junior professional officer was among the deceased. Our thoughts go to the United Nations, the people of Nigeria, and the victims and their families.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

United Nations peacekeeping is crucial in supporting countries affected by armed conflict. The Nordic countries are longstanding supporters of this key United Nations endeavour. Between us, we participate in nine of the current United Nations operations. Three of them are headed by representatives from the Nordic countries, two of whom are women. That is no coincidence. We strongly believe that we need more women at the top level in United Nations peacekeeping and that we must continue to strive for proper integration of the gender perspective in all activities.

We welcome this opportunity to discuss peacekeeping in the Security Council. Our main focus will be on the issues of protection, capabilities and partnerships.

The primary role of the United Nations with regard to the protection of civilians should be to assist host Governments in carrying out their responsibility to fulfil this vital task. Strengthening good governance, security and justice sector reform, and the participation of women are key issues in this regard. At the same time, the United Nations must be prepared and able to provide robust assistance when needed. The effective implementation of all aspects of protection mandates requires adequate capabilities, training, planning and strategy.

The Nordic countries fully agree with India's focus on the need for better alignment between mandates and capabilities. Discrepancies between stated objectives and the availability of capabilities can undermine the credibility of the United Nations.

To meet future demands, the United Nations needs to apply a more comprehensive and capability-driven approach. The Nordic countries support the New Horizon initiative as a solid basis for improving the United Nations capacity to deliver on all parts of the mandates. The ongoing efforts of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support to move the focus from numbers to skills and capacity are highly commendable. Likewise, the United Nations must make more efficient use of available resources, both in-house and internationally, in particular from the South. In this light, we welcome the recommendations of the civilian capacities review (S/2011/85).

Civilian capacities, including rule of law and gender expertise, play a key role in the transition from conflict to peace and development. Together, we must build on the momentum that has been generated by the review, and continue to work for the implementation of the recommendations. As Nordic countries, we stand ready to share our expertise in developing civilian capacities in peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

We must also continue to strengthen the United Nations capacity to deliver as one. We cannot look at peacekeeping in isolation from peacebuilding and longer-term development. A well-integrated and more coherent United Nations is a more effective United Nations. This requires an ability to prioritize and to think strategically across sectors and divisions.

Partnership is a key word. We acknowledge the importance of further enhancing the relationship between troop- and police-contributing countries and

United Nations bodies. The Secretariat and the Security Council will benefit from closer engagement in the formulation of new mandates as well as in the adjustment of existing mandates.

Close relations between the United Nations and host Governments will also benefit all parties involved and pave the way for early transition. In order to succeed with those very sensitive peacebuilding tasks that tend to be included in peacekeeping mandates, national ownership is vital. This is particularly true with regard to security sector reform.

Enhanced cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations is another key partnering issue. Cooperation and coordination are important means to ensure that the increased role of regional organizations in peacekeeping contributes to the efficient use of scarce resources. This is highly relevant in Africa, where the African Union is shouldering a heavy burden alongside the United Nations.

The Nordic countries are jointly engaged in a capacity-building programme with the Eastern African Standby Force Coordination Mechanism. We are delighted with the progress made by our East African partners. Last week, the Standby Force signed a memorandum of understanding with the African Union Commission to enhance the capabilities of the African Union Mission in Somalia. This memorandum is a milestone in the operationalization of the African Standby Force, as it will provide the framework for the first ever deployment of a regional African standby force.

Let me conclude by expressing the Nordic countries' appreciation of India's initiative to organize today's debate.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Hungary.

**Mr. Zimonyi** (Hungary): At the outset, on behalf of the Government of Hungary, I join the unanimous condemnation in the strongest terms by all previous speakers today of the attack against the United Nations building in Abuja. I extend our deepest sympathies to the victims and their families and to the United Nations.

Hungary thanks India, one of the top troop-contributing countries (TCCs), for its initiative to convene this open debate on the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations.

Hungary fully aligns itself with the statement delivered earlier today on behalf of the European Union.

The world has changed significantly since the first Blue Helmets were deployed in the late 1940s. We consider it an important and urgent task to continue the review of United Nations peacekeeping in order to adapt it to the challenges of the twenty-first century. In this regard, Hungary supports all reform proposals that will enable peacekeeping operations to respond effectively and in a timely manner to violent conflicts in order to protect civilian populations and to establish the conditions necessary for long-lasting peace.

The question of capabilities and resources lies at the heart of the peacekeeping reform debate. Developing military and police capabilities is an important tool to enable complex peacekeeping operations to carry out their mandates effectively. Regarding the improvement of capabilities, Hungary attaches utmost importance to the training of peacekeeping personnel. The Hungarian Defence Forces Peace Support Training Centre, located in Szolnok, Hungary, has a long history and unique expertise in training peacekeepers from different parts of the world. Our country's goal is to contribute to the improvement of United Nations peacekeeping capabilities by preparing Hungarian and international peacekeeping personnel for their future assignments.

The present global economic crisis has sharpened the focus on the financing of peacekeeping operations. Against this background, many United Nations Member States, including Hungary, put greater emphasis on the need for enhanced efficiency in the implementation of the United Nations peacekeeping budget. As a troop-contributing country, we also understand the added burden that many troop- and police-contributing countries (PCCs) face in this difficult economic climate. It is becoming more difficult for every one of us to find the resources needed to send further troops, offer additional technical advice, and spend more money on peacekeeping activities. Nevertheless, it is of the utmost importance to provide the necessary resources to implement effectively the complex mandates of today's peacekeeping operations. Thus, new solutions need to be found to meet those new challenges.

First of all, preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention must play a bigger role in the activities of the United Nations. Peacekeeping is part of the political solution and not an alternative to it. We must individualize our processes and have a well-defined exit strategy for each peacekeeping mission in order to avoid a prolongation of operations without clear prospects.

Secondly, cooperation with regional organizations must be improved in all regions of the world. There are good examples and best practices we can build on and which should be used more widely. In order to increase efficiency, emphasis should be placed on developing local know-how and capabilities. Africa, where the largest part of United Nations forces is concentrated, is a case in point.

Most important of all, we must preserve and further improve the global peacekeeping partnership. Troop- and police-contributing countries play an essential part in this partnership and deliver first-hand experience that is indispensable to the work of the Security Council. We must further enhance this cooperation by relying more on the participation of TCCs and PCCs, as well as of host countries, in particular in informal discussions with Council members. We encourage the Council to further strengthen this cooperation as part of the reform of its working methods.

Hungary reiterates its strong support and highest appreciation for the work of the peacekeeping missions of the United Nations. We would hereby like to express gratitude to the peacekeeping personnel who serve or have served in United Nations missions, and convey our deep respect for those who have lost their lives in service of the cause of international peace and security.

**The President**: I give the floor to the representative of Croatia.

**Mr. Mikec** (Croatia): Let me first express, on behalf of the Croatian Government, our strongest condemnation of the terrorist attack on United Nations premises in Abuja, and extend our deepest condolences to the families of the victims, the people and Government of Nigeria, and the United Nations as a whole.

I would like to thank you, Mr. President, and your team for your successful conduct of the Council's work this month and especially for convening this important debate. My delegation aligns itself with the statement of the European Union. However, allow me to take part in this timely debate by adding a few comments in my national capacity.

The concepts of peacekeeping and peacebuilding, like the international landscape, are constantly changing, and the role of the United Nations in multidimensional peacekeeping is becoming ever more complex and deeper as it aims at resolving the underlying causes, and not just the symptoms.

Over the years Croatia has gained extensive and valuable knowledge and experience with United Nations peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts, taking into the account our path from hosting peacekeepers to becoming a strong contributor to numerous peacekeeping operations. In this regard, Croatia is making every effort to use its experience in helping other countries in need to overcome their difficulties. Let me highlight some issues that we feel need further attention.

The concept of peacekeeping cannot be touched upon without mentioning two documents: the Brahimi report (S/2000/809) and the New Horizon initiative. Croatia supports guidelines provided in these documents, especially the premise that conflict cannot be resolved first and foremost by military means, but that we must rather seek to address problems at their root causes. Lasting peace and security can be achieved only through adherence to the three interlinked and firmly grounded basic pillars of security, development and the protection of human rights.

Genuine and sustainable peace can be accomplished only through the thorough rebuilding of core national institutions and their functions, as well as their employment on behalf of all social, religious and ethnic groups. Therefore, peacekeeping has to be considered as a beginning of the peacebuilding process. Such a multidimensional approach needs to be reflected in mission planning processes.

A clear political strategy and integrated mission planning are extremely important and should include the provision of a precisely defined mandate with clear and objective benchmarks and goals that reflect the actual situation on the ground and are as depoliticized as possible, as well as a clear exit strategy. In order to ensure that expected gaps are minimized and to increase overall efficiency, we believe that each new

mission needs to be tailored to concrete conditions and political realities on the ground.

We believe that cooperation and coordination among the main stakeholders within United Nations and troop- and police-contributing countries need to be strengthened. Peacekeeping operations should be planned with the unambiguous support of a core number of nations willing to provide troops for proposed mission. In that regard, Croatia welcomes the ongoing practice of interaction with the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, which offers a comprehensive overview on the situation of each operation.

Croatia recognizes and supports the Council's intention to further strengthen coherence among peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding in its work, and we particularly welcome the Council's practice of transforming some former peacekeeping missions into integrated peacebuilding missions. This practice accords with the mandates and activities of other stakeholders in charge of peacebuilding, especially the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), and opens the door to further fruitful cooperation among them. In that context, let me express here our hope that the PBC's relevant knowledge and experience of specific issues concerning countries that are on the agendas of both the Security Council and the PBC will find their way into the Council's deliberations.

The implementation of protection of civilians mandates continues to be one of the most operationally complex tasks for United Nations peacekeeping. United Nations troops, police and civilians on the ground continue to develop innovative approaches to the protection of civilians. In that respect, Croatia strongly support the implementation of a strategic framework to guide the drafting of comprehensive protection of civilians strategies, particularly a series of protection of civilians training models for military, police and civilian personnel. The Republic of Croatia itself develops civilian and military capabilities focused on training, education and mentoring of the national forces of conflict-affected countries. Those capabilities, properly adapted to concrete missions, contribute to security and stability, especially by providing assistance in the process of establishing self-sustaining national forces and authorities.

In the conduct of peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts, two additional aspects — cooperation among international agencies and regional and subregional organizations, and the role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts — have to be considered in order to strengthen overall achievements. Croatia believes that these two aspects should be encouraged as much as possible.

Finally, allow me to express Croatia's support for the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (A/65/19). Even though much still can be done, we believe that the report provides vital input to the membership's continued efforts to implement the United Nations peacekeeping reform agenda, and shapes the future of United Nations peacekeeping. Croatia will continue to contribute to that end.

In conclusion, we would like to recognize the crucial role of all men and women serving in United Nations peacekeeping missions, and in that regard we condemn all attacks on United Nations peacekeeping personnel. We would like to highlight our belief that safety and security of all United Nations personnel are of paramount importance.

**The President**: I give the floor to the representative of Nepal.

**Mr. Acharya** (Nepal): Let me begin, as others have done, by expressing our condemnation of the United Nations offices in Abuja, Nigeria, this morning. We express our sincere condolences to all those who were killed in the dastardly attack, and our sympathies to the bereaved families.

Let me express my delegation's sincere appreciation to you, Mr. President, for having organized this open debate in the Council on the theme "Peacekeeping: taking stock and preparing for the future", and for preparing an excellent and comprehensive concept paper on the subject (S/2011/496, annex). This is a very timely and important debate. I should also like to thank the Secretary-General for his important statement this morning. We also endorse the statement made by the representative of the Kingdom of Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Peacekeeping, as a flagship enterprise of the United Nations, is constantly evolving. The increased demand on the United Nations to respond to a growing and diverse number of situations is testimony both to the growing confidence reposed in the world body and to the multifaceted challenges that the international

community has to grapple with. Likewise, the assumption of a peacekeeping role by some regional organizations and the participation of an ever-increasing number of troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs) in peacekeeping operations underscore peacekeeping's indispensability as a legitimate instrument of the global body for the maintenance of international peace and security.

In the space and time continuum, peacekeeping operations have gone well beyond their traditional modes of operation. Protecting peace and ensuring security, providing security guarantees, including the protection of civilians, and political and peacebuilding support to assist countries' transition to peace are the principal tasks assigned to peacekeeping missions today. They represent a mixed bag of old and new mandates. In their present-day incarnation, peacekeepers are performing as early peacebuilders. They undertake many of the tasks pertaining to peacebuilding and nation-building, particularly by creating the necessary environment for the tasks of monitoring elections, building necessary governance institutions, establishing the rule of law, supporting disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and security sector reform, and laying foundations for sustained economic growth and development.

The dramatic growth in peacekeeping operations is thus accompanied by new, complex and multidimensional mandates; diverse, challenging and often hostile operating environments; and growing interaction among a number of players. It is unfortunate that the growth in the United Nations budget is not proportionate to the growth in the number of peacekeeping operations and the magnitude of the mandate. The evolving trend has also brought to the fore the critical issues of State sovereignty and consent, building national capacity, the right to protection and a host of other related issues.

This indicates that peacekeeping has moved into a newer and broader territory. We believe that overall peacekeeping has been largely successful, but we have to make it better, as it has become a versatile instrument of the United Nations. We should bridge the gap in our strategy, financing and capacity not only to ensure immediate peace and security, but also to support economic, social and political recovery in order to promote longer-term security and peace in the countries concerned. After all, the root causes of conflicts have to be looked at critically if we are to be successful in the field. Moreover, strategy alone, without corresponding resources and capacity in the related fields, has never succeeded anytime or anywhere. And United Nations peacekeeping cannot be an exception to that.

There is no doubt that a higher standard of cost-effectiveness, agility and operational efficiency must be ensured. We concur with the view articulated in the concept paper before us that United Nations peacekeeping operations do not only carry international legitimacy, but are also the most cost-effective tools through which international peace and security can be strengthened. It is our hope that implementation of the global field support strategy and a capability-driven approach will strengthen United Nations peacekeeping further in the days ahead.

As there is no alternative to peacekeeping, it should remain a partnership and a responsibility shared among the General Assembly, the Security Council, the TCCs and PCCs, regional partners, the host country and the Secretariat. An enhanced level of understanding and partnership among all the stakeholders, right from the initial phase of mandate design to the ultimate phase of withdrawal and exit, is required for any peacekeeping operation to be successful. In addition, doctrinal and conceptual understanding must be simplified and defined in terms of operational activities, and must be understood by all stakeholders.

Based on our experiences gained along the evolving path of peacekeeping, and looking at the challenges ahead, my delegation emphasizes the following key elements.

First, the Security Council must be guided by unity of purpose and mobilize its entire political capital, based on merits and principles, to ensure that a coherent strategic framework is in place to achieve the desired objectives, which must be explicitly articulated.

Secondly, peacekeeping should be guided by an integrated three-pronged strategy. It has to stabilize the security situation, support national political processes and ensure economic regeneration. All the three pillars need to be strengthened in a holistic manner from the very beginning. Therefore, greater coherence and coordination are required in dealing with these challenges and conflicts.

Thirdly, a framework for consultation with TCCs and PCCs on the mandating process should be substantive, institutionalized and structured in terms of content and timing. The comprehensive and continuous involvement of TCCs and PCCs in all stages of United Nations peacekeeping is essential to making operations effective and successful on the ground.

Fourthly, a strong provision of necessary resources and effective arrangements of enablers is key to rapid deployment and to making missions operational. Therefore, field support needs to be strengthened in order to overcome the increasing risks faced by peacekeepers and changing nature of security and growing expectations.

Fifthly, civilian capacity in diverse fields is in increasing demand in the new generation of peacekeeping operations. We should strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to respond to such demands with an inclusive approach shared by all. The proper and effective use of civilian capacity, together with a military contingent, will have a salutary impact on building necessary institutions and national capacity in conflict-affected countries, which will make peace deep-rooted and sustainable.

Finally, the safety and security of peacekeepers should be given due priority. Equally important is for the morale and dignity of peacekeepers to be kept high at all times through appropriate incentive structures, including timely adjustment of their salaries and facilities in line with ground realities.

My country attaches great importance to United Nations peacekeeping in line with its foreign policy objectives. Nepal's association with United Nations peacekeeping is consistent and long-standing. Without interruption since 1958, Nepal has contributed peacekeepers for the maintenance of international peace and security under the aegis of the United Nations, with the cumulative figure of more than 80,000 personnel deployed in 40 different peacekeeping missions around the world. Nepalese peacekeepers have served in the most challenging missions with the utmost commitment and professionalism. To date, some 62 Nepalese peacekeepers have sacrificed their lives in the line of duty.

In conclusion, my delegation reiterates its profound commitment to United Nations peacekeeping and assures the Council of its continued participation in peacekeeping missions for the sake of a secure, stable and prosperous future for all.

**The President**: I give the floor to the representative of Serbia.

**Ms. Čubrilo** (Serbia): Unfortunately, the Permanent Representative of Serbia was unable to join us this evening, so I shall deliver the following statement.

My country strongly condemns the terrible attack in Abuja and extends its deepest condolences to the families of the victims, the people and Government of Nigeria, and the whole United Nations community.

The Republic of Serbia welcomes the holding of this open debate in the Security Council on the subject of United Nations peacekeeping operations, believing that the Council can only benefit from such a debate. We thank the delegation of India for preparing the concept note (S/2011/496, annex), which will certainly help steer today's discussion on the subject.

Serbia has aligned itself with the statement of the European Union. In addition, I would like to make a few remarks.

Serbia attaches great importance to the United Nations role in promoting and maintaining international peace and security and, as a responsible member of the international community, is committed to playing an active role in the United Nations peacekeeping activities, demonstrating thereby its commitment to the goals of the Organization.

Peacekeeping operations are among the most important aspects of the capacity of the United Nations to safeguard international peace and security, and a unique and valuable tool in assisting countries to make the transition from conflicts to durable peace in an effective and sustainable manner. In addition to the necessary political support, the effective matching of human, financial and logistical resources with priority needs is essential to ensuring that there is no discrepancy between the identified objectives and the practical achievements on the ground.

While United Nations peacekeeping operations continue to evolve into multidimensional undertakings designed to provide a stable and secure environment for smooth peace processes, it is necessary to ensure the maximum optimization of the existing resources of the United Nations system. It is also of particular

importance to mobilize additional capabilities in order to minimize gaps and improve performance in the field, bearing in mind that the absence of critical assets hampers missions' ability to implement their mandates. Addressing these challenges in a comprehensive and proper way requires the coordinated and energetic response of all the Members of the United Nations.

Successful peacekeeping is a shared responsibility, so the continued engagement, commitment and dedication of all actors involved are needed in order to improve the ability of United Nations peacekeeping to deliver concrete results at the field level in complex and fragile situations. This requires a broader, holistic strategy that synergizes peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts to address the interlinked issues of security and development in a comprehensive manner as the best way to prevent the resurgence of conflict. If these efforts are to be productive, all involved actors should make their contribution within the framework of the enhanced peacekeeping partnership between the Security Council, the General Assembly, the host country and troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs).

The increasingly difficult operational environments and the multiplicity and complexity of demands and challenges require continuous dialogue and coordination among all involved stakeholders throughout the whole lifecycle of a mission. The active involvement of troop- and police-contributing countries in all stages of United Nations peacekeeping operations has proven to be an important contribution to their smooth functioning and the successful implementation of their ever-diversifying tasks. Tens of thousands of men and women serving all around the world under the flag of the United Nations make TCCs and PCCs an essential source of credible and useful information on field developments and operational challenges.

In that context, the expertise of those countries should be incorporated into the planning and policymaking processes early on, especially prior to the Security Council's decision-taking on the renewal or appropriate adjustments of mission mandates. The field experience of TCCs and PCCs is also relevant in the process of the reconfiguration of missions, the generation of required capabilities and developing or modifying mission-specific rules of engagement, operational concepts and command-and-control structures.

The Republic of Serbia considers that the consultations between the Security Council, the Secretariat and TCCS and PCCs can play an indispensable role in assessments of the implementation of the mandates of United Nations peacekeeping operations and opportunities to improve arrangements for their management and oversight. The meetings of the Security Council with TCCs and PCCs and the ongoing practice of inviting them periodically to the meetings of the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations are very welcome. These practices are important mechanisms for ensuring the greater involvement of those countries in an open and inclusive dialogue with the Security Council members on peacekeeping-related issues.

Yet there is still space for improvements in this regard. In particular, it would be beneficial if troop- and police-contributing countries could be informed about those meetings and their agendas well in advance in order to have sufficient time to prepare and coordinate with their respective capitals and national contingents on the ground. This would enable them to optimize their contributions to the discussions and improve the overall quality of their interactions with the Security Council members.

These meeting are of particular importance in the case of new peacekeeping operations. It would be advantageous to convene them at an early stage in order to incorporate the views of TCCS and PCCs in the planning processes. This would also help the Security Council to have a clear insight into available resources to be engaged by those countries in specific missions in order to avoid future serious capability gaps that could jeopardize the implementation of the missions' mandate.

In closing, I would like to pay tribute to all United Nations peacekeepers who risk their lives for the noble cause of peace. I would also like to reiterate the readiness of my country to engage constructively and in close cooperation with other Members of the United Nations in advancing the objectives of United Nations peacekeeping. With that in mind, we stand ready to significantly increase our participation in United Nations missions in the coming period.

**The President**: I give the floor to the representative of Ukraine.

**Mr. Tsymbaliuk** (Ukraine): First and foremost, Ukraine would like to join others in condemning today's hideous attack against the United Nations in Abuja. We express deepest sympathies to the victims and their families, to the Government of Nigeria and to the United Nations family.

Let me thank you, Sir, for convening this important debate. The choice of today's topic came quite naturally to such a major troop-contributing country as India. I would like to join previous speakers in commending the extraordinary contribution of your country in this sphere. Our appreciation also goes to the Secretary-General for his insight into today's topic.

While Ukraine aligns itself with the statement made by the observer of the European Union, I find it pertinent to make a few brief points in my national capacity.

Let me start by giving credit to former Under-Secretary-General Le Roy for his dedicated stewardship of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations through some of the most turbulent years for United Nations peacekeeping. As he rightly noted,

> "demand for United Nations-led peacekeeping operations is likely to continue over the next five years and may even start to rise again as ... fresh crises and conflicts emerge ... The number of peacekeepers in the field is not falling, just a year after many thought that United Nations peacekeeping was entering a period of consolidation".

Recent events — the establishment of two new United Nations peacekeeping operations and the sketching out of a United Nations presence in Libya — prove that this conclusion is very much to the point. That is why, in our view, it is even more urgent to address the most pressing issues affecting today's peacekeeping operations, which were laid bare by a historical surge in the number of uniformed personnel deployments in 2010.

Let me briefly outline three areas where, in Ukraine's opinion, our attention is most needed.

My delegation remains deeply concerned over the mismatch between resources in terms of major enablers and the broad mandates of United Nations peacekeeping operations. The gap is exemplified by the classic case of military utility helicopters, the shortage of which jeopardizes the effectiveness of some of the United Nations' most complex and ambitious operations. That was one of the unmistakable messages of the latest Security Council meeting with Force Commanders (6592nd meeting).

Our peacekeepers should have all capacities needed to tackle increasingly complex situations and tasks, especially in vast theatres of operations. We therefore fully concur with the European Union's call for pragmatic and swift solutions and look forward to studying the Secretariat's forthcoming proposals. Ukraine believes that those proposals should be based on the relevant recommendations of the last two sessions of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, especially in terms of changing the way in which military helicopters are reimbursed for and operated.

Much has been said about United Nations peacekeeping as a global partnership between the Security Council, troop and police contributors, and the Secretariat. We cannot agree more. But for this triangle to work best, a mutual understanding between each of its actors is a prerequisite.

The surest way to achieve such understanding is to give troop-contributing countries (TCCs) a much stronger voice in the decision-making process at all stages of peacekeeping operations, from planning to termination. There should be no instances when TCCs are confronted with a fait accompli, only learning about decisions directly affecting their personnel or assets from Security Council resolutions on the day of their adoption.

Ensuring an adequate level of safety and security for United Nations personnel must be the central element of any peacekeeping operation. We are deeply concerned over increasing threats to Blue Helmets. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deepest condolences over the loss earlier this month of the lives of four peacekeepers in the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei. The perpetrators of such heinous acts should not go unpunished, and the relevant TCCs should have every legal right and means to be involved in the investigation of crimes committed against the life and health of their peacekeepers.

As one of the initiators of the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel, Ukraine looks forward to the Secretariat's comprehensive report on all the processes involved in

the investigation and prosecution of crimes committed against deployed United Nations peacekeepers.

The year 2012 will mark 20 years of Ukraine's contributions to United Nations peacekeeping operations. That period has witnessed my country's active military and police engagement in more than 20 missions under the auspices of the United Nations. If there were a peacekeeping ratio, Ukraine's would be one new mission per year. Overall, as of today Ukraine has contributed almost 40,000 Blue Helmets to United Nations peacekeeping efforts — a commitment that we are resolved to maintain in the years to come.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Ethiopia.

**Mr. Alemu** (Ethiopia): Let me start by joining previous speakers in condemning the terrorist attack in Abuja, and in expressing our sympathy and solidarity with Nigeria and the United Nations. This is a scourge that we should all stand together to fight. There is absolutely no justification for resort to terror.

I would like to join the speakers who have preceded me in thanking you, Mr. President, for having organized this open debate on United Nations peacekeeping operations. We have found the brief concept paper prepared to facilitate today's debate (S/2011/496, annex) quite comprehensive and indeed very helpful. We thank you for that as well. We also appreciate the Secretary-General's statement.

Most of what I wanted to say has been covered by the representative of Morocco and the representative of the African Union, who have spoken on our behalf. I will make one or two remarks more or less expanding on some of the suggestions in the concept paper.

One very critical issue raised in the paper has to do with the states of affairs or conditions that affect the legitimacy and credibility of United Nations peacekeeping. The challenge is described as having two facets: the first relates to the apparent legal ambiguity within which peacekeepers are often compelled to operate, and the second to the constraints on resources that lead to deficiencies in performance. These are valid points.

But there is yet another major factor threatening the legitimacy and credibility of United Nations peacekeeping and of the Security Council itself, and that has to do with the spectacle that we sometimes witness, for example, when missions are left in the lurch to fend for themselves and left to be humiliated. Here one recalls the fate of the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

That episode and other similar situations underscore the need for missions to be supported wholeheartedly by the Council, not only in words but in deeds, which cannot be limited only to resources. In all this, it is critical that there be no situations that might plausibly give credence to allegations or insinuations that the Security Council is unfair and not even-handed. In other words, the body — the Security Council — that authorizes peacekeeping missions must protect its moral authority. In the absence of this, peacekeeping missions are doomed from the outset. If any of the parties has reason to suspect an absence of impartiality, the mission will have no chance of success.

The report of the Brahimi Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (S/2000/809) suggested that its recommendations are designed to balance principles and pragmatism. I suppose that is the only viable approach for making United Nations peacekeeping credible and effective.

But again, perhaps the best option we have for peace and stability — in our continent first of all — is to do more in the other two principal activities of United Nations peace operations: conflict prevention and peacemaking, and peacebuilding. There is no doubt that it is lack of sufficient attention to preventing conflict, and to peacemaking in particular, that makes peacekeeping necessary. But prevention falls within the ambit of diplomatic initiative. As the Brahimi Panel said, "Such preventive action is, by definition, a low-profile activity; when successful, it may even go unnoticed altogether." (ibid., para. 10)

But the Panel could have said more about why we are all so weak in utilizing all the opportunities that preventive diplomacy offers. One could talk at length on this theme, but suffice it to say that one major problem is that the early warnings of conflict are not properly heeded, and more often than not, evil is accommodated until it is too late.

In parenthesis, let me say that we did not discover evil as a political concept; the Brahimi Panel did. There is no doubt that, at this juncture in world history

when nations see possible future trajectories of the dispersal of power and influence, the proclivity to accommodate evil might possibly grow, not decline. That is a rather scary scenario.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Tunisia.

**Mr. Jerandi** (Tunisia) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would first like to extend our heartfelt condolences to the United Nations family, to the brotherly delegation of Nigeria and, through it, to the Government and people of Nigeria and the families of the victims following the attack on United Nations House today — an act that we all condemn.

I would also like to extend to the brotherly delegation of India our sincere congratulations on its assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and on its distinguished performance in a month very busy with important and sensitive issues. I would also like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on choosing the topic of our debate and Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his participation in the discussion and his statement to the Council.

We associate ourselves with the statements made by our brother from the Kingdom of Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, and by the observer of the African Union.

Tunisia has participated in peacekeeping operations since 1962. It has deployed hundreds of soldiers to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, sent troops to Cambodia, Albania and Somalia, and contributed observers to United Nations forces in various parts of the African continent and the world. In that regard, I cannot fail to mention the late Hédi Annabi, one of the best and most able experts of Tunisia, who was killed in the earthquake that struck Haiti in January 2010 while performing his duties in committed service to the noble principles of the United Nations and its mission to maintain peace and security.

Our experience is based on the following issues. With regard to the discussion of peacekeeping operations, we stress the importance of the effective participation of States Members of the Organization, in particular troop-contributing countries, in any discussion on establishing any mission, its implementation or its amendment. We believe that the General Assembly and its specialized committees, in particular the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, are the best forums to debate all such matters in a discussion involving all Member States, the Secretariat and members of the Security Council, and to consider their proposals and those of other specialized working and ad hoc groups on peacekeeping operations in order to ensure transparency in all decisions on peacekeeping operations, their implementation or their amendment.

With regard to the functioning of peacekeeping operations in the field and their guiding principles, we believe them to be crucial to the functioning of peacekeeping operations, in particular consent by the parties concerned, non-use of force except in self-defence, and the observance of complete impartiality. We also believe that we must have a clear vision of the nature of such missions and United Nations forces, as well as advance exit strategies to avoid any security vacuums in countries where the Organization has worked so hard. To that end, I believe that we must recognize the inseparable and complementary nature of peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations.

On the other hand, we believe that it is important to conduct extensive consultations with the troop-contributing countries on logistical issues relating to their components in peacekeeping operations, in particular when such forces are restructured, redeployed or given a new mandate. Naturally, the issue of resources cannot be avoided, since it is one of the main causes of the limited efficiency and effectiveness of the current forces and greatly reduces the ability of the United Nations and regional organizations to conduct peacekeeping operations in conflict areas.

I also note that the discussion that has been ongoing since 2008, in particular on cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union, and consequent recommendations and reports, such as the Prodi report (S/2008/813), all need to be implemented. We must identify possible approaches to the financing of African missions sanctioned by the United Nations.

In any case, we believe that conflict prevention and pre-emptive action remain the best way to spare the United Nations and its Member States heavy financial, logistical and political burdens. Therefore, the international community must focus on preventive action in dealing with conflicts before they begin or spread, and pay sufficient attention to events throughout the world in order to ensure that the

Organization adopts a comprehensive approach in seeking to preserve international peace and security and addresses the various phases of such efforts in an optimal manner.

In conclusion, I affirm that, as it begins a new phase of its history, Tunisia will always remain committed to upholding the pillars of peace, stability and security throughout the world. We will spare no effort to contribute and participate effectively in United Nations peacekeeping operations. We believe that, despite the difficulties that such operations face, they represent one of the greatest successes of our Organization and a source of hope for all people who suffer the scourge of war and conflict.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Sri Lanka.

**Mr. Silva** (Sri Lanka): At the outset, my delegation condemns the shocking terrorist attack on the United Nations office in Abuja. We extend our sincere condolences to the families and relatives of the victims. We stand in support of and solidarity with the United Nations family and the Government of Nigeria in the face of that horrific attack.

Let me join previous speakers in congratulating India on its initiative to convene this timely and important debate. The Sri Lankan delegation associates itself with the statement delivered on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement by the representative of Morocco.

Today, United Nations peacekeepers are one of the most widely recognized members of the United Nations family. They bring hope and security to millions of people around the world. They are at the forefront of the Security Council's effort to carry out its mandate to maintain international peace and security. United Nations peacekeeping operations, an activity that was not envisaged at the inception of the Organization, have come a long way from their modest beginnings and have evolved into complex operations. Therefore, it is appropriate that the performance and direction of United Nations peacekeeping be reviewed at regular intervals to maintain its focus on priorities, fundamental principles and ground realities.

The world today is a relatively safer place because of United Nations peacekeepers. They safeguard the peace, often in hostile and difficult environments. Let us remember and pay tribute to the hundreds of peacekeepers and associated staff who have sacrificed their lives in the line of duty over the years. Theirs was a sacrifice for the today, the tomorrow and the future of many countries and their peoples.

Sri Lanka is honoured to have been able to serve with other Member States in United Nations peacekeeping operations. Over the years, we have made a modest contribution to assisting United Nations peacekeeping missions. The year 2010 marked the fiftieth anniversary of our first contribution to a United Nations peacekeeping mission. We believe that United Nations peacekeeping missions embody the best example of nations coming together for peace and security. Cooperation between troops and police personnel from different countries forges bonds of friendship and trust that transcend differences in language and culture.

We continue the training and assessment of peacekeepers in Sri Lanka in an effort to uphold the highest standards of peacekeeping. Sri Lanka's steadfast commitment to United Nations peacekeeping is reflected in our strategic reserve of a highly professional and fully equipped battalion for deployment within 48-hours' notice. In keeping with the United Nations stated goal of ensuring gender parity in all areas, Sri Lanka also has in reserve highly professional and well-trained female personnel to serve as peacekeepers.

Peacekeeping should not be treated as a substitute for addressing the root causes of conflict. The ultimate goal should be building peace and the institutional capacities of the affected countries to enable them to manage their own affairs free from outside interference. Hence, exit strategies are of paramount importance. A successful transition can be guaranteed only by developing clear, credible and achievable mandates, which this Council agreed to ensure at its deliberations in February.

Sri Lanka firmly believes that United Nations peacekeeping operations should be conducted in respect for fundamental principles such as the consent of the parties, the non-use of force except in self-defence, and impartiality. The success of any peacekeeping mission will depend on the respect accorded to the principles of the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of States. It is equally important that the criterion for the selection of peacekeeping

troops always remain the level of their proven and recognized professionalism and integrity during their deployment.

Peacekeeping budgets and the number of peacekeepers have grown as the nature of peacekeeping mandates has changed — a development that has attracted criticism. At the same time, the gaps between mandates and the resources required to carry them out have widened. We hope that this debate will focus on the importance of providing adequate resources to allow peacekeeping missions to carry out their mandates. From the stage of planning until actual deployment, it is imperative to have closer consultations and careful evaluations of the resource gaps. United Nations peacekeeping operations remain, despite their shortcomings, vastly superior in terms of effectiveness and efficiency to other alternatives.

In conclusion, Sri Lanka is pleased to reiterate our continued commitment to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and United Nations peacekeeping operations.

**The President**: I give the floor to the representative of Azerbaijan.

**Mr. Mammadaliyev** (Azerbaijan): Allow me to join previous speakers in condemning the latest terrorist attack in Nigeria. In this regard, our deepest condolences go to all those affected.

I would like to thank you, Sir, for having convened this very important open debate on United Nations peacekeeping operations and for your submission of the concept paper (S/2011/496, annex) on this topic.

Azerbaijan fully aligns itself with the statement delivered today on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, but I would like to make some remarks in our national capacity.

Despite serious shortcomings, it is evident that peacekeeping and peacekeepers have delivered results, contributed to reducing tensions, and ensured that peacebuilding processes in different parts of the world moved forward. At the same time, more should be done to strengthen international peacekeeping capabilities in accordance with the needs of national authorities and relevance to conditions in the host countries.

As a country suffering from the scourge of war and situated in proximity to other conflicts affecting the countries of its region, Azerbaijan is determined to establish lasting peace and stability in the South Caucasus and beyond on the basis of the generally accepted norms and principles of international law, the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, and the appropriate documents and decisions adopted by other international organizations.

Azerbaijan is fully committed to and making sustained efforts in maintaining international peace, security and stability, including by contributing to peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts. The peacekeeping company in Azerbaijan's Armed Forces was formed in 1997 and transformed in 2001 into a battalion. Since 1999, Azerbaijan has contributed sizable military personal to the peacekeeping missions in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. In recent years, the Government of Azerbaijan has increased its financial contribution to support the United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Respect for the purposes and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, including in particular those pertaining to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and non-interference in their internal affairs, are crucial to promoting peace, security and stability in general and to performing peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions.

It is obvious that peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts and their respective mandates involve important questions of international law, and a greater degree of common understanding in this regard is required among Member States. We believe that the relevant guiding principles and strategies to be developed with a view to strengthening the normative framework of such efforts should strictly adhere to the concept of State sovereignty, including, inter alia, the consent of the parties and impartiality. Particular attention should also be paid to the issues of international humanitarian law and international human rights law.

We believe that there is a need for more effective cooperation, partnership and coordination among the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat, and troop- and police-contributing and host countries. It is also important to mention the links between officers in the field and decision-makers here at Headquarters in order to ensure that correct decisions are made in a timely manner. This can be achieved only through the greater involvement of

troop-contributing countries, which eventually will lead to an upgrade of peacekeeping itself.

In conclusion, Mr. President, allow me to assure you that Azerbaijan will continue to support peacekeeping operations and peacebuilding efforts, address their needs and contribute to the decision-making process of the Security Council.

**The President**: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.*